

THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FORTY-FIVE

FIRST QUARTER, 1951

On the Earliest Editions
of the *Morgante* of Luigi Pulci

By ERNEST H. WILKINS

MUCH has been written on the earliest editions of the *Morgante* (by which I mean those published before 1485); but many of the problems concerned are still without definitive solution. In an attempt to solve these problems I shall first assemble, without argument, all the relevant data; and shall then endeavor to discover the conclusions to which a thoroughgoing examination of these may lead.

By way of preface it may be noted—combining certain data that are well known to students of Pulci with certain conclusions established in another article of mine¹—that Pulci began the writing of the *Morgante*, at the request of Lucrezia Tornabuoni, probably about 1460 and probably not before 1461; that Lucrezia's request included expression of a desire that the poem should serve to rehabilitate Charlemagne (who had become a sorry figure in the earlier Italian epic), and that Pulci intended to comply with her desire; that for Cantos I-XXIII he followed

¹ "On the Dates of Composition of the *Morgante* of Luigi Pulci," in: *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, LXVI (1951).

closely, in general, the plot of the 14th-century epic *Orlando*; that beginning with Canto XVIII, Stanza 112, and ending with Canto XIX, Stanza 155, he introduced an invention of his own, the episode of the picaresque demi-giant Margutte; that Stanzas 150-179 of Canto XVIII were written before April, 1468; that Stanzas 171-173 of Canto XIX were written before March, 1472, and probably in 1471; that Stanza 100 of Canto XXII was written in or after 1471; that the poem was first published, in a form consisting of Cantos I-XXIII only—two editions of this poem being extant—before the death of Lucrezia, which occurred on March 25, 1482; that Canto XXVIII was written after her death; and that in an edition published on February 7, 1483 and in all later editions Canto XXIII is followed by Cantos XXIV-XXVIII.

I

For convenience in reference the several subdivisions of this section will be separately lettered. The first four of these subdivisions contain general data relative to the Ripoli press; the rest concern editions of the *Morgante* or separate editions of the Margutte episode.

A. In 1476 Fra Domenico di Pistoia, vicar and later prior of the convent of S. Jacopo di Ripoli, in Florence, opened, in connection with the convent, a printing establishment which continued its activity until 1484. During this nine-year period the Ripoli press published some thirty substantial books, and two or three times as many booklets and leaflets prepared for religious distribution or for the use of popular entertainers. Nuns of the convent served sometimes as compositors. There is still extant a *Diario* in which Fra Domenico kept a somewhat unsystematic account of his transactions.²

² P. Bologna, "La stamperia fiorentina del monastero di S. Jacopo di Ripoli e le sue edizioni," in: *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XX: 349-378 (1892), and XXI: 49-69 (1893); Emilia Nesi, *Il diario della stamperia di Ripoli* (Florence, B. Seeber, 1903); and *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the*

B. In several cases the press printed two or more editions of the same book. For instance, Capranica's *Arte del bene morire* was printed in 1477 and again in 1479 (Nesi XV and XXXVI);³ the pseudo-Petrarchan *Vite de pontefici et imperatori romani* was printed in 1478 and again in 1479 (Nesi XXIII and XXXI); the pseudo-Augustinian *Logica* was printed twice in 1480 (Nesi XL and BMC VI: 623); the *Decameron* was printed in 1482 and again in 1483 (Nesi LXXIV and LXXXIII); and the *Fior di virtù* was printed twice in 1483 (Nesi LXXIX and LXXXV). There are many more such instances among the less substantial publications.

C. Not all the publications of the press are mentioned in the *Diario*. Instances are the Sallust, the Pliny, and the Suetonius of 1478 (Nesi XXV-XXVII); the second edition of the *Vite de pontefici* (Nesi XXXI); the second edition of the *Logica* (Nesi XL, last sentence); and the undated Maimonides and Riccius (Nesi, pp. 58-59).

D. Of many of the publications of the press no copy, as far as we know, is extant. This is true in particular, naturally enough, of the more fugitive pieces; but there appear to be cases among the more substantial publications also. No copy of the second (1479) edition of the *Vite de pontefici* or of the first (1482) edition of the *Decameron* is recorded in the major catalogues of incunabula. Complete or virtually complete disappearance of 15th-century editions is, of course, not exceptional.⁴

E. On November 11, 1478, Duke Ercole I of Ferrara wrote to Antonio Gondi a letter containing this passage:

haressimo a caro de haver un libro chiamato Morgante, et però vi preghiamo

British Museum (cited hereafter as BMC), Part VI (London, The Trustees, 1930), pp. xii-xiv and 615-624.

³ Roman numerals following the name Nesi correspond to numerals used by Miss Nesi in her list of the publications of the press.

⁴ The *Morgante* was among the books of which copies were burned in Savonarola's "bonfire of vanities" in 1496: see C. Pellegrini, *Luigi Pulci, l'uomo e l'artista* (Pisa, Stab. Tipografico Succ. Fratelli Nistri, 1912), p. 189.

che ve intendiati cum uno che si chiama Alovise Pulci el quale se ne trova haver, et fati che ne habiamo uno incontinente, che ce ne fareti piacer assaj.⁵

F. A list made on September 29, 1480, of books kept by Lorenzo de' Medici in his bedroom in his villa at Poggio a Caiano contains this entry:

Uno libro chiamato morghante in forma di chuoio paghonazo.⁶

G. Among the entries in the Ripoli *Diario* for the winter of 1480-81 and the following spring are these (not all consecutive):

Giovanni soprascripto adi 18 dinovembre recho due lisime. di fogli per re marghutti.

E a di 22 di detto. due lisime di fogli. recho edetto. per margutti.

E a di 23 didetto porto il suo garzone una lisima di fogli per margutti.

Nota che per infino al principio dalla compagnia con bartolo avemo lavorato di marghutte. uno quaderno e mezo. E poi incominciamo martidi adi 28. di detto. e seguitossi etiamdio poi per me perche non ne ita innanzi detta compagnia.

E adi 6 di dicembre ebbe 20 margutti. 20

E adi 26 di dicembre ebbe 30 margutti. 30

E adi 10 di gennaio ebbe dieci margutti. quando ando a pisa. 10

E adi 13 di ferraio ebbe 20 margutti 20

E adi 9 di marzo ebbe 20 morganti cioe 20

E adi detto [April 12] ebbe 15 margutti 15⁷

These entries refer evidently to a separate edition of the Margutte episode. No copy of this edition is known to be extant.

⁵ G. Reichenbach, *Matteo Maria Boiardo* (Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli, 1929), p. 134. Attention was first called to this passage (without quotation) by A. Luzio and R. Renier in their "Niccolò da Correggio," in the *Giornale storico*, XXI: 212, n. 2 (1893).

⁶ G. Volpi, "Una nota di libri posseduti da Lorenzo il Magnifico," in: *Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi*, XI: 89-90 (1900). The words *in forma* mean "printed."

⁷ Miss Nesi, pp. 48 and 119-120. Her entry for March 9 has, however, been corrected in accordance with a correction reported by A. Pellizzari, "I tre Morganti," in *Scritti vari dedicati a Mario Armani* (Milan, Ulrico Hoepli Editori, 1938), p. 231. The *morganti* of that entry refers unquestionably to the same publication referred to in the *margutti* of the other entries. The word *lisime* (=risime) means "reams." The Giovanni is Giovanni di Nato, for whom the Ripoli press printed many items, including two other small items that were in production in the same period as the *Margutte*. Some other entries record deliveries of paper by Giovanni, but without indication that they were for the *Margutte*.

H. There are extant copies of three—and, as far as I can ascertain, of only three—15th-century separate editions of the Margutte episode.

One of these, preserved in a single copy now in the Vatican Library, has no statement as to place, date, or name of printer: Accurti assigns it to the press of Bartolommeo di Libri, and dates it as "c. 1485?". It consisted originally of 32 leaves. The first page bears the words *Morgante e Margutte*. The colophon reads: *Finito Morgante e Margutte*. There is a woodcut.⁸

Another edition, preserved in two copies, one in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome, the other in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville, has likewise no statement as to place, date, or name of printer: Reichling assigns it to the Florentine press of Antonio Miscomini, and dates it as "c. 1490." It consists of 16 leaves. The first page has a rough woodcut representing Morgante and Margutte, whose names appear above it. The colophon reads: *Finito il Margutte piccolo*.⁹

The third of these editions, preserved in a single copy now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, was printed in Cremona, within the period 1492-1495, by Caesar Parmensis. It consists of 30 leaves. It is entitled: *Libro de Morgante minore e Margute de la sua compagna*. There are several woodcuts.¹⁰

J. Among the entries in the Ripoli *Diario* for the spring of 1482 are these:

⁸ T. Accurti, *Editiones saeculi XV pleraque bibliographis ignotae* (Florence, Tipografia Giuntina, 1930), p. 70.

⁹ D. Reichling, *Appendices ad Hainii-Copingeri Repertorium bibliographicum* (Munich, Rosenthal, 1907), Fasc. 3, p. 62 (No. 1004); Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530* (New York, G. E. Stechert & Co., 1941), II: 1034-1035 (No. 6045); and the Biblioteca Colombina, *Catálogo de sus libros impresos* (Seville, Sobriños de Izquierdo [1916]), V: 147. Sander gives references to earlier discussions of this edition. The copy now in Seville has in it this notation, in the hand of Fernando Colón, son of Christopher Columbus and founder of the Biblioteca Colombina: *Este libro costó en Roma .4. quatrines por dexiembre de 1515*.

¹⁰ G. Melzi, *Biblioteca dei romanzi di cavalleria*, revised by P. A. Tosi, 2d ed. (Milan, G. Daelli, 1865), p. 206; and Sander, *loc. cit.* (No. 6046). The years 1492 and 1495 mark the limits of Caesar's work at Cremona: see the *BMC*, Part VII, 1935, pp. li and 956.

Suor Marieta di casa ebbe per tutto ferraio 1481. due fiorini larghi
sono per parte dello aiutarci conporre il morgante f. 2 l.

E a di 16 daprile 1482 ebbe uno mezo duchato fo conto sia per prezo
di questo aiuto facto. f. 1/2¹¹

K. There exists, in a single copy now in Modena,¹² an undated edition of the *Morgante* which has, at the top of its first page, this "title":

QVESTO LIBRO TRACTA DI CARLO MAGNO TRADVCTO DI latine scripture antiche degne di auctorita & messo ìrma da Luigi de Pulci Ciptadino Fiorentino Adpetitione della nobilissima donna mona Lucretia di Piero di Cosimo de Medici Et dallo original prio di mano di decto auctore retracto & gitato in forma in firenze apresso Sancto Iacopo di Ripoli. Et poi che cosi si contenta iluolgo che e sia appellato Morgâte deriuato da un certo gigâte famoso che in molte cose interuiene in esso Per non opugnare atâti Cõcedesi che cosi sia il suo titolo. Cioe el Famoso MORGANTE.¹³

This edition contains 23 cantos only, the last canto ending with Stanza 54, the last two lines of which read thus:

diren quel che segui nellaltro mondo
cristo uì scampi dallo eternal pondo.¹⁴

This stanza is followed by a three-stanza *Salve regina*, the third stanza reading thus:

Con la tua gratia Vergine Maria
conserua la deuota alma e ueracie
mona Lucretia tua benigna epia
consanita perfecta et uita e pace
anche exaudire puoi cio che lei disia
che sempre chiedera quel che a te piace
io tene priego perle sue uirtute
che gli conceda almondo et inciel salute.

¹¹ Miss Nesi, pp. 52 and 67.

¹² This copy was discovered in 1908 in the Library of the Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti of Modena. Professor Edward Williamson, writing to me from Modena on November 12, 1950, reports that this copy is now in the Biblioteca Estense—the Academy having been bombed out of its own site.

¹³ Quoted from the facsimile facing Pellizzari's p. 232.

¹⁴ These two lines and the following stanza are quoted from the facsimile facing Pellizzari's p. 248.

L. The earliest extant dated edition of the *Morgante*, which exists in a single copy (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale), has this colophon:

Felice Carlo imperator romano
 Glorioso signor degno di lode
 Deligesti delqual elmondo gode
 Non che litalia e francia e lalamano
 Felice fosti inguerra & tucti ilsano
 Felice in pacie come aperto se ode
 Felice in tucte lopre sancte e sode
 In morte piu chel buon Mario romano
 Ma dopo ilfatal corso almondo mai
 Chi piu dite fortunato sappella
 Datanti e tal poeti celebrato
 Vedi lector lexperienza omai
 Legendo dimorgante lopra bella
 Che con piacer tifara consolato
 E questo fu stampato
 Per Luca Venetiano Stampatore
 Che sopra glialtre e piu degno dhonore
 M.cccc.lxxxi. Adi. 26. Delmese de februaryo.¹⁵

In this edition the poem ends at the same point and with the same concluding lines as in the undated Florentine edition, and is followed by the same *Salve regina*.¹⁶ The heading of the Register reads: "Registro del libro chiamato morgante."¹⁷

M. The second extant dated edition, which exists in two copies, one in the British Museum and one in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, England, has the following colophon:

¹⁵ Quoted from the facsimile facing p. 368 in Vol. I of *Il Morgante*, ed. by G. Fatini, 2 vols. (Turin, Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1948). The Bibliothèque Nationale copy has the letters I FATTI DI CARLOMAG on its binding, and an early hand wrote on the first page: *Les faits et gestes de Charlemagne et ses paladins*: one or both of these facts led presumably to Hain's entry of this edition (as his No. 4517) under the heading *Carolus Magnus*, with the subheading *Li fatti di Carolo Magno et de i Palatini de Francia*. See S. von Arx, "Alcune notizie intorno alla prima edizione conosciuta del 'Morgante,'" in the *Giornale storico*, L: 347-348 (1907).

¹⁶ In the 5th line of the 3rd stanza of the *Salve regina* this edition has *anzi* instead of *anche*.

¹⁷ This statement rests upon examination of a photostatic copy of this edition, recently given by Professor George B. Weston to the Harvard University Library.

Finito illibro appellato Morgante Maggiore facto come e decto al principio daLuigi depulci ad petizione della excellentissima mona Lucrezia di Piero di Cosimo demedici gittato informa p me Francesco deDino diIacopo diRigalletto cartolaio giouine fiorētino. Imp̄sso nella cipta di Firēze. Adi septe deFebio ap̄sso almunister difuligno. nel Anno M CCCC LXXXII. Rittracto dallo originale uero & riueduto & correcto dalproprio auctore che iddio felicemente conserui & dia piacere a chi legge cō salute della anima & delcorpo. Amen.¹⁸

Since the Florentine year began on March 25 the date, in common style, is February 7, 1483. This edition contains 28 cantos. The first 23 cantos are, with negligible minor changes, as in the previous editions, except that two new stanzas, 14 and 15, have been introduced in Canto I, and that the last two lines of Canto XXIII now read:

Direm quel che seguí nel nuovo canto,
Con la virtù del Santo, Santo, Santo.

Certain changes, due obviously to the death of Lucrezia Tornabuoni, have been made in the third stanza of the *Salve regina*. Line 4 now reads:

Con carità perfetta e vera pace;

and Lines 7-8 now read:

Sí che lei prego per le sue virtute,
Che per me impetri grazia di salute.

II

We may now undertake discussion of the several problems relating to the early publication of the *Morgante*. The letters A-M will be used to refer to the correspondingly lettered subdivisions of the previous section, or to particular elements of those subdivisions. The order followed will be that of logical convenience.

¹⁸ Quoted from the facsimile facing p. 192 in Vol. II of Fatini's edition. The lines quoted below are quoted from Fatini's edition.

G AND H

G shows that a separate edition of the Margutte episode was printed by the Ripoli press in the winter of 1480-81; and H lists the only three 15th-century separate editions of the Margutte episode that are known to be extant: one dated as perhaps of 1485, one as of about 1490, and one as printed within the period 1492-1495. There is then no evidence that any separate edition of the Margutte episode had been printed before the Ripoli press brought out its edition in December, 1480. On the other hand, as reference to B-D will indicate, the absence of evidence does not suffice to prove that other editions did not exist.

J AND K

J shows that an edition of the *Morgante* was being composed by the Ripoli press in the spring of 1482; and K describes an undated edition of the *Morgante* published by the Ripoli press. Are these two editions identical? It has been generally so assumed: but although it may well be that they are identical, the mere assumption that they are is quite unwarranted. For the Ripoli press was active from 1476 to 1484; and it may perfectly well have printed more than one edition of the *Morgante*—as reference to B-D will indicate. Unless specific evidence, hitherto uncited, were available, it would appear that the extant Ripoli *Morgante* might have been printed at any time within the period 1476-1484. Fortunately, however, such evidence is available.

The Ripoli press used five different types, described first by Proctor and later, with facsimiles, in the *BMC*.¹⁹ Upon the basis of these descriptions and facsimiles and on examination of the facsimiles of the first and last pages of the extant Ripoli *Morgante* facing pp. 232 and 248 in Pellizzari's article, it is certain that the type used in the extant Ripoli *Morgante* is Type 4. Use

¹⁹ R. Proctor, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum* (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, 1898), Part I, pp. 406-407; *BMC* VI: 619-620 and Plate XLIV.

of this type, as Proctor and the *BMC* both show, began in 1478 and continued at least until 1481. Type 5 was used, as far as we know, only in a single book, which is undated. It is then possible that Type 4 was used as late as 1484. As far as this evidence goes, therefore, the extant Ripoli *Morgante* might have been printed at any time within the period 1478-1484. But in 1481, as the *BMC* points out, the Ripoli press changed its typography in two respects. Previously the press had used two kinds of e, one "having large loop with steep loop line, the other shallow loop running out to nib": but "In what is presumably a recast made in 1481 . . . only the shallow-looped form of e appears." Previously, also, the type had been so set that the distance from a given point in one line to the corresponding point in the 20th line below was 105 mm.; but it was now so set that the distance was only 101 or 102 mm. Professor Williamson, who examined the unique copy for me in November, 1950, reports (in the letter referred to above, in n. 12) that only the shallow-looped form of e appears in it, and that the 20-line distance is 102 mm. It is then clear that the extant Ripoli *Morgante* was printed within the period 1481-1484.

It is perfectly possible that the extant Ripoli *Morgante* is a copy of the edition which was being printed by the Ripoli press in the spring of 1482. It is, however, not certain, since it is also quite possible that two or more editions of the *Morgante* were printed in the period 1481-1484. It is to be noted in particular that the *Decameron* was printed in 1482 and again in 1483, and that the *Fior di virtù* was printed twice in 1483; also that two substantial undated works, which were probably printed (as the *BMC* indicates) within this period, the Maimonides and the Riccius, are not mentioned in the *Diario*. Nevertheless, since the extant Ripoli *Morgante* could fail to be a copy of the edition of early 1482 only through the coincidence of three circumstances—namely, that the Ripoli press should have printed two editions of the *Morgante* in the period 1481-1484, that one of the

two should not have been mentioned in the *Diario*, and that one of the two should have disappeared without trace—the sound scholarly conclusion would seem to be that the extant Ripoli *Morgante* is probably, though not certainly, a copy of the edition which was being composed by the Ripoli press in the early spring of 1482.

L

The Venetian edition is dated *M.cccc.lxxxii. Adi. 26. Del mese de februario*. The Venetian legal year began on March 1; and it has been generally assumed that Luca Veneziano (known to incunabulists as Lucas Dominici) dated his book in terms of the Venetian legal year, and that its date in the common style was therefore February 26, 1482. That is in fact the case, as will presently appear; but the assumption upon which that conclusion has rested hitherto is quite unwarranted. For while use of the Venetian legal year was obligatory in official and legal documents, it was not obligatory in colophons. In practice, some Venetian printers used the Venetian legal style, some the common style, and some now one and now the other. Discussion of their practice in this regard appears in the long introduction to the volume of the *BMC* (Part V, 1924) devoted to Venetian printing. Victor Scholderer, the author of that introduction, mentions 15 printers as certainly or probably using the Venetian style, eight as certainly or probably using the common style, and eight, including Aldus,²⁰ as certainly or probably using now one style and now the other. In a far larger number of cases the usage is uncertain. Furthermore, the indications are that Lucas Dominici dated his *Historia de Merlino* in the common style, not in the Venetian style.²¹ Unless specific evidence, hitherto uncited, were

²⁰ The varying practice of Aldus in this regard has been studied in great detail by R. C. Christie in his "The Chronology of the Early Aldines," in *Bibliographica*, I: 193-222 (1895), reprinted in his *Selected Essays and Papers* (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1902), pp. 223-246.

²¹ See the colophon in *BMC* V: 279.

available, it would appear that Luca's *Morgante* might have been printed either in 1481, common style, or in 1482, common style. Fortunately, however, such evidence is at hand. For Luca used four different types, described first by Proctor and later, with facsimiles, in the *BMC*; his use of the second type began after May, 1481; Fatini's facsimile shows that the type used for the *Morgante* was the second type; and it follows that the February 26 on which the *Morgante* was published was the February 26 of 1482, common style.²²

It is evident, especially in view of the wording of Luca's versified colophon, that his edition was not an original or independent edition, but that it was derived from a previous edition. The featuring of Charlemagne in the versified colophon would be inexplicable if Luca had derived the material of his colophon from the text of the poem: it is explicable only as being derived from an earlier colophon or "title" in which Charlemagne was mentioned—as in the "title" of the extant Ripoli *Morgante*.

The Venetian edition, published in February, 1482, common style, cannot possibly have been derived from the Ripoli edition that was being composed in February, 1482, common style. The existence of the Venetian edition proves, therefore, that a lost edition of the *Morgante* existed before February, 1482, common style.

Since the Venetian edition was published on February 26, 1482, common style, and the extant Ripoli edition—if, as is probable, it is a copy of the edition mentioned in the *Diario*—was in process of composition (see J) *per tutto ferraio* of that year (and indeed was apparently finished, at the earliest, not very long before April 16), it follows that the Venetian edition is earlier than the Ripoli edition, and that it is, therefore, the earliest extant edition of the *Morgante*.

²² Proctor, I: 297; *BMC* V: 279-281 and Plate XXV. Zingarelli's strangely aberrant theory that Luca's edition was printed in 1483, common style, is sufficiently refuted by Pellizzari, p. 249.

E AND F

It is agreed that both the *Morgante* mentioned in the letter written to Gondi on November 11, 1478, and the *Morgante* owned by Lorenzo in September, 1480, were printed books, as is shown, in the first case, by the phrase *se ne trova haver*, which clearly indicates the existence of a supply of copies,²³ and in the second case, by the phrase *in forma*.

Prior to the publication of Pellizzari's study it had been asserted or assumed that these books were copies of the *Morgante* as a whole (that is, of the 23-canto form). But Pellizzari (pp. 229-232) maintains that they were copies not of the *Morgante* as a whole but of a separate edition of the Margutte episode. His argument runs thus:

1. Editions of the Margutte episode existed.
2. The copies of the Ripoli edition of the Margutte episode mentioned in the *Diario*, while usually referred to as *margutti*, are in one instance referred to as *morganti*.
3. (a) Rajna²⁴ surmises "che il vero titolo della stampa separata [of the Margutte episode] abbia potuto essere, meglio che Margutte, Morgante piccolo": this surmise is based specifically on the idea that Morgante rather than Margutte is the protagonist of the episode and that the initial woodcut in the Casanatense edition shows both Morgante and Margutte "sormontati dal nome rispettivo, con grande prevalenza di statura per Morgante." And (b) even if Rajna's surmise should be mistaken,

rimane tuttavia credibile che, in assenza d'un titolo vero e proprio imposto dal poeta, o a preferenza di quel "Margutte piccolo" esiliato in fondo alle ottave, si sia cominciato a designare l'episodio a stampa col nome dell'eroe più comico e più "grosso": di quello che più doveva colpire la fantasia del volgo.

²³ There was doubtless some circulation of the *Morgante* in manuscript; but it is unthinkable that Pulci could have been supposed to have on hand a supply of manuscripts of the poem.

²⁴ P. Rajna, "Morgante e Margutte in un monastero di Via della Scala," in: *Il Marzocco*, XXX: July 26, p. 1 (1925).

4. The "title" of the extant Ripoli *Morgante* shows that the *volgo* wants the poem to be entitled *Morgante*:

così vuole, o, in sostanza, così già fa esso stesso, designando correntemente con quel nome la parte o le parti che ne conosce; perchè così si chiama "un certo gigante che in molte cose interviene in esso," che vi ha dunque una gran parte.

5. (The conclusion of the argument:)

... Fortuna e fama iniziate dalle recitazioni che il poeta fece dei canti via che li compose, e dalle stampe parziali, dai *Margutti*, dai *Morganti* piccoli, che se ne diffusero avanti il 1480.

Pellizzari then maintains in a separate but related argument (pp. 232-234), that the extant Ripoli *Morgante* must have been the first edition of the poem as a whole. This argument opens with two negative and continues with two positive considerations, thus:

6. The Gondi and Lorenzo references may perfectly well have been to separate editions of the Margutte episode.

7. There is no record of the existence of any edition of the *Morgante* as a whole prior to the extant Ripoli edition.

8. The "title" of the extant Ripoli edition states that that edition was derived from the author's holograph: if there had been earlier editions authorized by Pulci no such statement would have been necessary, and any statement that might have been made would have been to the effect that the text was "ricorretto e revisto dall' autore" and that the new edition was a reprint—"perchè allora come ora le successive edizioni di un libro ne attestavano la fortuna ed erano vanto degli autori e degli stampatori" (in this connection Pellizzari cites the recurrence of the word *ristampato* in editions of the *Orlando furioso* published in the period 1521-1531); and that if there had been earlier unauthorized editions the Ripoli edition would have proclaimed its own uniquely authorized character.

9. The justification of the title *Morgante* contained in the ex-

tant Ripoli edition would have made no sense as a mere repetition of a matter previously stated: the justification has the character of a *novità*, of an *impromptu piacevole*; and the explanation is not retained in later editions.

This double argument was challenged by Fatini, who in his article (pp. 50-51) points out that the letter to Gondi and the Medici list both speak of a *libro* rather than a *libretto*;²⁵ that they might naturally have employed one of the terms *Margutte*, *Morgante piccolo*, or *Morgante-Margutte* if the object in question were merely a print of the Margutte episode; that it would have been strange if the title *Morgante* had been used to designate a print of the Margutte episode alone; and that there is no cause for surprise

se nella comune tendenza degli editori e, diciamolo pure, degli autori a presentare le loro pubblicazioni come novità anche quando sono ristampe—quella tendenza era assai più spiccata presso quei nostri lontani padri che dovevano vincere anche con l'espedito della novità la diffidenza che specie in alcuni ambienti intellettuali si nutriva per l'arte tipografica, ancora rozza e poco attraente —, il Pulci avesse sentito il bisogno di ripetere quel passo nell'edizione ripolina.²⁶

Pellizzari's several arguments may further be criticized thus:

(1) There is no proof that any separate edition of the Margutte episode existed before December, 1480. It is not impossible that separate editions did exist before that time; but the mere possibility that they existed does not constitute a valid foundation for an argument based upon their existence.

²⁵ "Sul titolo del poema pulciano," in: *Italica*, XXVI: 47-55 (1949). This point, as regards the Medici list, is worth reinforcement. The word used to designate the several items in the list is, in almost every case, *libro*; but three of the items are referred to thus: "Uno libretto di sonetti di Burchiello"; "Uno libretto di musica"; and "Uno libricino degl'articoli della fede." The fact that the *Morgante* is referred to as a *libro* rather than as a *libretto* or a *libricino* indicates clearly, therefore, that it was a substantial book.

²⁶ Fatini adds that it is perfectly possible that the "title" of the extant Ripoli edition reflects the existence of an earlier edition which did not bear the title *Morgante*, but was either without title or bore some such title as *I fatti di Carlo Magno*. It is indeed possible; but it would seem to be improbable in view of the facts brought out in the last paragraph of this section.

(2) The *Diario* refers ten times to the Ripoli edition of the Margutte episode: in nine cases the *Diario* uses the word *margutti*, and in one case only the word *morganti*. This is not a valid foundation for an argument that the edition of the Margutte episode was commonly known as a *libro chiamato morgante*.

(3a) The protagonist of the Margutte episode is not Morgante but Margutte, to whom alone the separately printed portion of the poem, filled with the sayings and doings of Margutte and ending with his death, is specific. The fact that the second of the three extant separate editions of the Margutte episode has an initial woodcut showing a taller Morgante and a shorter Margutte, with their names above them, does not constitute evidence that the booklet was popularly called *il Morgante piccolo*. The edition just referred to calls it *il Margutte piccolo*.

(3b) As between the giant Morgante and the demi-giant Margutte the former was indeed the *più grosso*; but he was certainly not the *più comico*, and it is not safe to assume that he was "quello che più doveva colpire la fantasia del volgo."

(4) The "title" of the extant Ripoli *Morgante* does indicate that the *volgo* wanted the poem *as a whole* to be called the *Morgante*: it does not indicate that the *volgo* wanted an edition of the Margutte episode to be called the *Morgante*.

(5) The assumption that copies of the Margutte episode were in circulation before 1480 is unwarranted.

(6) This is merely a repetition of the conclusions reached by Pellizzari on the basis of his previous argument.

(7) The invalidity of this argument may be seen by reference to B-D. If this argument were valid, a corresponding argument would have sufficed to prove that no edition of the Margutte episode could have existed before 1480.

(8 and 9) These arguments are sufficiently refuted by Fatini. It may be added that as far as we can tell the Ripoli press did not designate any of its second editions as *ristampe*: the cases for

which we have an extant second edition containing a colophon are the second pseudo-Augustinian *Logica* of 1480, the Capranica *Arte del bene morire* of 1479, the pseudo-Petrarchan *Vite de pontefici* of 1479, the *Decameron* of 1483, and the second *Fior di virtù* of 1483.

Further positive indication that Lorenzo's *Morgante* was indeed a substantial book is afforded by the fact, hitherto overlooked in this connection, that *it was bound*: it was *Uno libro chiamato morghante in forma di chuoio paghonazo*. It is almost unthinkable that a slight booklet such as the separate edition of the Margutte episode should, at that time, have been thus bound.

It has already been shown that the existence of the derivative Venetian edition proves that a lost edition of the *Morgante* existed before February, 1482, common style.

Pellizzari's arguments are then invalid; and we may safely conclude, from all the evidence that has been reviewed, that the book sought by Ercole and the book owned by Lorenzo were copies, not of the Margutte episode, but of a lost edition of the 23-canto *Morgante*.²⁷

El signore Lodovico mi chiede uno Morgante, el quale li mando per questa cavalcata; ma uno di questi in forma, acciò che non abbi a soprastare tanto che uno che ne ho ordinato sia scritto. . . . Ricordate a questo proposito alla Eccellenza Sua, destramente però, che legga tanto questa opera di Morgante che un dì facci ancora quella, qualche bel colpo e cosa rilevata come si contiene molte volte in questa istoria.

(R. Palmarocchi, "Lettere inedite di Lorenzo de' Medici," in: *Pegaso*, IV: 516-517 (1932).

This lost edition was in all probability printed by the Ripoli press. No other Florentine press was at this time publishing books of this sort.²⁸ In view of the facts that both E and F refer to this lost edition as *un libro chiamato Morgante* and that the Ve-

²⁷ Duke Ercole was not the only lord who wrote to Florence for a copy of the *Morgante*. A letter written by Lorenzo on Dec. 30, 1485, to Iacopo Guicciardini, his envoy in Milan, contains this passage:

²⁸ See the article referred to in n. 1, and *BMC* VI: 615-627.

netian edition—which, as has been shown above, was derived from a lost edition—is referred to in its Register as a *libro chiamato Morgante* it is clearly probable that the name *Morgante* appeared in the “title” or colophon of the lost edition. It is indeed quite possible that the “title” or colophon was identical with the “title” of the extant Ripoli edition.

M

The colophon of the edition of 1483, the first to contain Cantos XXIV-XXVIII, begins with the words *Finito illibro chiamato Morgante Maggiore*. It has been generally believed that the *Maggiore* was intended to distinguish this edition from the preceding editions which had contained only Cantos I-XXIII. Rajna, however, asserted, without argument, in 1871, that the *Maggiore* was intended to distinguish this edition from the separate editions of the Margutte episode.²⁹ Pellegrini in 1912, in his *Luigi Pulci* (p. 188), accepted Rajna's assertion without argument; but in his *Episodi*³⁰ he expresses no opinion on this point. In 1925 Rajna restated his opinion, again without argument, noting, however, that others believed that the *Maggiore* was intended to distinguish the 28-canto form from the 23-canto form.³¹ Pellizzari (p. 234) apparently assumes that the *Maggiore* was intended to distinguish the 28-canto form from the 23-canto form.

Fatini in his article “Sul titolo del poema pulciano” (pp. 53-54) argues that the *Maggiore* was intended to distinguish the 28-canto form from the 23-canto form. His arguments are these:

²⁹ “La rotta di Roncisvalle nella letteratura romanesca italiana,” in: *Il Propugnatore*, IV, Pt. 1, 333n. (1871): “. . . il *Morgante*, che tutti . . . chiamano *Maggiore* senza alcuna ragione: giacchè tale appellativo non gli fu attribuito se non per distinguerlo dal *Morgante minore o piccolo*, che anticamente fu stampato e ristampato . . . e non era altro che l' episodio di Margutte staccato dal resto.”

³⁰ *Il Morgante, Episodi scelti e ricollegati*, ed. by Pellegrini (Cernusco sul Naviglio, Garzanti, 1945).

³¹ In the article cited in n. 24: “Abbia o non abbia il Pulci ideato questo *Morgante piccolo* che io ho sempre ritenuto causa dell' epiteto di *maggiore* . . . (altri vorrebbe invece ripeterlo dall' edizione di ventotto canti . . .).”

(1) the *piccolo* in the title *Morgante piccolo* must have been used to distinguish the separate print of the Margutte episode from the 23-canto form of the *Morgante*, not from the 28-canto form, which did not exist when the episode was first separately printed; and (2) if the purpose of the *Maggiore* had been to distinguish the complete poem from the separate episode, the *Maggiore* would have appeared in the Ripoli edition of 1482, which was certainly *maggiore* than the separate episode. The first of these two arguments seems to me to have little weight; but the second is very strong.

Fatini's arguments may be supplemented by three considerations. (a) No one of the three extant 15th-century separate editions of the Margutte episode has the title *Morgante piccolo*: the colophons of the first two and the title of the third are respectively *Finito Morgante e Margutte*; *Finito il Margutte piccolo*; and *Libro de Morgante minore e Margute de la sua compagnia*. There is no basis for Rajna's assumption that editions of the Margutte episode entitled *Morgante piccolo* existed before 1483. And the title *Morgante Maggiore* implies a contrast not with a preceding edition in which the only proper name appearing in the title is *Margutte*, or even with one entitled *Morgante e Margutte*, but with a preceding edition in which the only proper name appearing in the title is *Morgante*. (b) If Francesco de Dino's intention had been to establish a contrast with a preceding edition having in its title the adjective *piccolo*, he would naturally have used in the colophon of his own edition not the word *maggiore*, but the word *grande*. (c) He would have missed an obvious advertising opportunity if, having for the first time the five additional cantos, he had failed to distinguish his edition from the preceding editions by a colophon designed to emphasize that fact. We may then rest assured that the *Maggiore* of the edition of 1483 was intended to distinguish this edition of the *Morgante* from the

preceding editions which had contained only Cantos I-XXIII.³²

Fatini further maintains (pp. 54-55), with valid arguments, the position—which is indeed in accordance with the general modern assumption—that since the *Maggiore* of the edition of 1483 is so obviously a publisher's addition the true title of the poem is simply *Morgante*, and not *Morgante maggiore*.³³

It remains only to complete the record by clearing up the matter of the second known copy of the edition of 1483. Prior to the publication of Pellizzari's article it had been assumed that the British Museum copy was the only extant copy of that edition. But Pellizzari in the course of his careful examination of the British Museum copy found in it a note, which he quotes in full (p. 245), in the hand of Lord Grenville, its first English owner, in which Grenville states that his copy, when he bought it, lacked the colophon and two leaves; that later, in 1830, he bought a second copy which, though itself imperfect, had the leaves that his first copy lacked; that he transferred those leaves to his own copy; and that the second copy "was purchased afterwards of me by L. Spencer & the deficient leaves were copied into it from mine."

Pellizzari does not identify "L. Spencer," nor does he attempt to trace the later history of the Spencer copy. In point of fact "L. Spencer" was unquestionably Lord Spencer, the great English bibliophile (George John Spencer, Second Earl of Spencer and Viscount Althorp). In 1892 his superb private collection, known as the Althorp Library, was purchased, from the Fifth Earl of Spencer, for the John Rylands Library, then newly es-

³² The *minore* in the title, *Libro de Morgante minore e Margutte de la sua compagnia*, of the separate edition of the Margutte episode published in or after 1492 is presumably a reflection of the *maggiore* used in the titles of editions of the *Morgante* published in 1483 and thereafter.

³³ As to the *famoso* which precedes the name *Morgante* in the "title" of the extant Ripoli edition Fatini says, reasonably enough (p. 51): "Quanto all' aggettivo 'famoso' che precede il nome lo credo puramente esornativo e non parte integrante del titolo, come parrebbe a prima vista, anche perchè è dato in carattere tipografico diverso da quello della parola 'Morgante' stampata in maiuscoletto."

published in Manchester.³⁴ Lord Spencer's copy of the *Morgante* is recorded thus in the *Catalogue* of that Library:

Luigi Pulci
Morgante Maggiore
fol. F. de Dino. Florence, 1482.³⁵

SUMMARY

The following conclusions with regard to the earliest editions of the *Morgante* have been presented in this study:

(1) The book sought by Duke Ercole in November, 1478, was a copy of an edition of the *Morgante* of which no copies are now known to be extant. This edition, in all probability, was printed by the Ripoli press.

(2) There is no evidence that any separate edition of the Margutte episode had been printed before the Ripoli press brought out its edition late in 1480.

(3) The first extant Venetian edition of the *Morgante* was published on February 26, 1482, common style. It was derived from a previous edition. It is earlier than the extant Ripoli edition (if, as is probable, that edition was being composed in the early spring of 1482); and is therefore the earliest extant edition of the *Morgante*.

(4) The Ripoli edition of the *Morgante* of which a copy is extant is probably the edition which was being composed in the early spring of 1482.

(5) The word *Maggiore* in the colophon of the 28-canto edition of the *Morgante* published in Florence in 1483 was intended to distinguish that edition from the preceding editions,

³⁴ Henry Guppy, *The John Rylands Library Manchester: 1899-1935* (Manchester, The University Press, 1935), pp. 10-11.

³⁵ E. G. Duff, *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library Manchester*, 3 vols. (Manchester, J. E. Cornish, 1899), III: 1481. The "1482" of this entry is of course a transcription of the 1482 (Florentine style) of the colophon of the edition of 1483.

which had contained only 23 cantos. The second known copy of this edition was purchased from Lord Grenville by Lord Spencer, and is now in the John Rylands Library in Manchester.³⁶

³⁶ I am very gratefully indebted to Dr. Curt F. Bühler, to Mr. William A. Jackson, and to Professor Edward Williamson for their generous helpfulness.

A Critical Study of Heawood's *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*

By ALLAN H. STEVENSON

AT last we have a Briquet for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Edward Heawood's collection of some four thousand watermarks has been issued as a large and handsome subscription volume by the Paper Publications Society of Hilversum, Holland.¹ As a basic work of reference it takes its place between the four general volumes of *Les Filigranes*² and the four regional volumes by Le Clert³ and Nicolai.⁴ In a measure it supersedes Churchill⁵ and Heawood's own contributions to *The Library*,⁶ offering as it does riches for its period

¹ Heawood, Edward. *Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries. Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia*, Vol. 1. General editor, E. J. Labarre. Hilversum, The Paper Publications Society, 1950. 156 pp. + 533 plates. 12 x 9½ inches. £10 10s and postage 5s.

² Charles M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Paris, A. Picard & fils, 1907, and offset Leipzig, C. W. Hiersemann, 1923), 4 vols.

³ Louis Le Clert, *Le Papier: recherches et notes pour servir à l'histoire du papier, principalement à Troyes et aux environs depuis le XIV^e siècle* (Paris, À l'enseigne du Pégase, 1926), 2 vols.

⁴ Alexandre Nicolai, *Moulins à papier du sud-ouest de la France 1300-1800: Périgord, Agenay, Angoumois, Soule, Béarn* (Bordeaux, G. Delmas, 1935), 2 vols.

⁵ W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc. in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam, M. Hertzberger & Co., 1935).

⁶ Edward Heawood, "The Position on the Sheet of Early Watermarks," in: *The Library*, 4th ser., IX: 38-47 (1928-29); "Sources of English Paper-Supply," *ibid.*, X: 282-307, 427-54 (1929-30); "Papers Used in England after 1600," *ibid.*, XI: 263-99, 466-98 (1930-31); "Further Notes on Paper Used in England after 1600," *ibid.*, 5th ser., II: 119-49 (1947-48), III: 141-42 (1948-49). Heawood's earliest article on the subject was "The Use of Watermarks in Dating Old Maps and Documents," in: *Geographical Journal*, LXIII: 391-422 (1924).

comparable only to those of Briquet. Indeed, although the book attempts merely (or mainly) to present a collection made in the leisure of long years, it is as a continuation of and supplement to Briquet that it will be used and judged.

As recently as the summer of 1948 Heawood feared that his portfolios of tracings and drawings would simply go to the British Museum when he died.⁷ Thus bibliographers owe a debt of high gratitude to Mr. E. J. Labarre for urging the aged collector to arrange his materials for publication and for finding a way to offer them to the world. It is a pity that Heawood died, on 30 April 1949, before his labors were quite done; that he did not live to see the splendid form his collection would take. His successor as Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. G. R. Crone, finished off some matters, and the editorial hand of Mr. Labarre attended to others; but, perhaps naturally under the circumstances, a few mistakes occurred, and they mar the volume. The important thing, however, is that the student now has for reference and comparison a sizable and more or less representative collection of papermarks ranging from the late sixteenth through the early nineteenth century. Its relative abundance comes largely out of seventeenth-century France, in which demesne there are many problems of paper that call for solution.

A frontispiece-photograph of Edward Heawood exhibits the genial patience that pervades the volume. The front matter includes a graceful Preface by the editor, a memoir and appreciation by Mr. Crone, a List of Subscribers, and a twenty-page Introduction by the author, written with modesty and restraint. Briefly he discusses the formation of his collection, its organization, the countries covered and some peculiarities of their watermarks, problems of dating and of the identification of papermakers, and other points. Occasionally the reader is aware that

⁷ In August 1948 he wrote to me: "My material includes far more than I have published, on other branches of the subject, but I fear it must remain unpublished, unless some younger man may care to deal with it. My largest set, of about 5000 items, has been promised eventually to the Brit. Mus."

more is known or could be inferred, that the writer, fearing the limits of his knowledge, has omitted useful conjectures and assignments of marks which he had published in *The Library*; yet these pages serve as a good basic survey. There follow a series of Indexes and a List of Sources; and then one is up to his chin in watermarks.

In classification and arrangement Heawood generally follows the method of Briquet through the alphabet from Anchors to Unicorns, Whales, and Wheels. Some thirty marks at the end are classed as Uncertain.⁸ As one turns the plates he is struck by the number of early subjects that continue into this period, the way some develop in ornateness and size with the years. How Pots, for instance, gradually grow from two to five inches and glory in the fantasy of their superstructures; so that one may guess their region and decade in much the same way that one can date Japanese prints by the coiffeurs of the charming *bijin* depicted in them. Impressive are the plates devoted to the Beehive designs of Honig and other eighteenth-century Dutch paper-makers, the Britannia watermarks, some used by native English makers, and such spreading pieces as the Chaplet, the Dovecote, the Eagle of Auvergne, and the Matador and Picador of Spain. Almost bewildering (on first acquaintance) are the lengthy sections showing Circles, Shields with Bends, the Arms of Amsterdam, Crowns, Fleurs-de-lis, Fools caps, Grapes, Horns, Pillars, and Pots. They add up to much of the book. Variations on a theme interested Heawood, and there is usually point in their inclusion. Some pages of Cockatrices and Unicorns remind us of the medieval origin of watermarks, and a primitive Railroad Train (H 4075) symbolizes the machine age which—except for book-paper for bibliophiles—brought the age of handmade paper to an end.

One might question the classification of certain marks denot-

⁸ H 4053 may be classed with Birds: I find clear examples in books printed by Thomas Cotes in 1640, as Habington's *Queene of Arragon*, a small folio.

ing paper sizes: Three Rounds (Trois O) as Circles, Shield (Écu) under Coat of Arms, Atlas under Figure, Jesus under Letters, Colombier under Names; but this is perhaps a French view. More awkward is the separation of a few marks that belong together: as H 516 and 576 ff, H 1005-6 and 2899-2900, H 1541 and 1705, H 1896, 1899 and 1912-13. Consistency is hardly expected, only ease in use.

With so much wealth it may seem ungrateful to ask whether this collection is truly representative for seventeenth and eighteenth-century papers. The answer may depend on the point of view. But when one remembers that each of Briquet's tomes contains as much material as this one, though paper was not made in quantity until the sixteenth century, he realizes that Heawood has given us four thousand papermarks out of a pair of centuries that produced a thousand and more new papers each year—the life of paper-moulds and their attendant *filigranes* being short, as Briquet and Schulte inform us.⁹ This is not to ask for a dozen volumes where one is granted, there being much to conquer within these pages. Yet I am under the impression that students of German paper (who have written much) and of Spanish paper (who have written little) will find it inadequate. As time goes on, there will be a need of supplements along national lines, including one on American watermarks.¹⁰

Some bibliographers, with perhaps an addiction to the study of play-quartos, or with an interest in watermarks as evidence rather than as something-to-collect, may raise points of scholarship concerning this book. Conceding that a magnificent collection may be enough for one diligent researcher to offer the world,

⁹ Briquet, I: xix; Alfred Schulte, "Papiermühlen- und Wasserzeichenforschung," in: *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1934 (Mainz, Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1934), pp. 22-25. The consensus is that moulds in constant use lasted one or two years and watermark wireforms a rather shorter time.

¹⁰ The answer to this prayer comes at once. Dard Hunter has just published a sumptuous volume on *Papermaking by Hand in America* (privately printed, 1950), using handmade paper and type specially designed, and illustrated with photographs of watermarks. One may get a foretaste from Hunter's article, "Papermaking by Hand in America," in: *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1950 (Mainz, Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1950), pp. 31-40.

they may yet wish that Heawood had given the cheaper papers their proportionate attention, had correlated some important work of others with his own, had envisaged the full rôle of watermarks in the study of books as books. This is not to reprimand a lovable shade: it is to challenge those who come after.

Yet in the vineyard are grapes for the harvesting. The wine-presser's work has no more than begun.

Heawood, surrounded by early atlases and geographical works, naturally began his tracings from elegant folios, many of them on *papier fin* (as his eighteenth-century Auvergne and Dauphiné papermarks show); and when he proceeded to Victoria and Albert and the British Museum, he (pardonably) continued to gather from the blank leaves of folios and the unpopulated districts of maps. He was indeed aware of the fallacy in his method and made attempts to remedy the weakness; yet always the quarto watermarks were caught in the binding and were difficult to make out entire.¹¹ As a result the aristocracy of paper is well served, but the proletariat of plays, sermons, and political tracts is scarcely represented. Seventeenth-century sixpenny quartos were printed on the cheapest paper obtainable (commonly from Britany)—with an array of pots, posts, jesuses, and assorted small marks that Heawood's apparently generous sections do not disclose.¹² Luckily, he interested himself in various small folios printed on pot-size paper; but the student of quartos will discov-

¹¹ "And their frequent tight binding and heavy cropping makes it impossible to get a full view of the marks in quarto or smaller formats. . . . Yet it would be a mistake to pay attention to folios only, for then one might obtain rather misleading results. For instance, in the early seventeenth century, when small quartos were a favourite format, an inspection of folios would give but an imperfect idea of the extensive use . . . of paper marked with the 'pot.'" ("Sources of English Paper-Supply," p. 427.) Still, he examined relatively few quartos, of a period when quarto was much the commonest format. As he says elsewhere, he found his watermarks "in different classes of literature, those of geographical nature, however, preponderating." ("Papers Used in England after 1600," p. 263.) Revealingly he wrote me, "It is rather a blow to my pride to find that some of the marks you mention [as found in Caroline quartos] have not yet come my way and are not to be identified even in my largest set of over 5000 examples. . . ."

¹² No doubt similar weaknesses exist in other works on watermarks.

er numerous pot-forms with numerous name-abbreviations not noted here. Among Heawood's 160 pots about thirty are drawn from each quarter-century between 1576 and 1650 and then sixty from 1651 to 1675; and thus there are relatively too few for the reign of Charles I—a time when jugs were increasing in virtue and loveliness. Any collector would have a problem with quartos, yet perchance the lowly pot deserves treatment in a separate volume of a thousand exemplars. Its relative importance (to English printers), at the time of the Armada, may be indicated by the inventory of the paper-stock in the garret of Printer Thomas Thomas of Cambridge: that stock was made up of 3 reams of "hand paper," 5½ reams of "small Rochill paper," 5 reams of "demy paper," a quantity of "waste paper," and no less than 39 reams of "pott paper."¹³ And anyone who doubts the endless variety of pots may compare the seventeen which Sir Walter Greg found in the Shakespeare quartos of 1619¹⁴ with those Heawood depicts from about that time—or he may examine at random the quartos of Fletcher, Massinger, Shirley, and Ford. One sort of pot which Heawood does not illustrate is that with a name label below the base. An example I have noted from seventeenth-century end-papers has the name P.LEGRAND—a papermaker, apparently Norman, who does not figure in Heawood's volume.¹⁵ Similarly with pillar watermarks: though Heawood's fifty are more nearly adequate, such marks appear frequently in quartos along with pots, grapes, and small fleurs-de-lis. Dated examples are rare, as is shown by Heawood's single specimen with initials and date IG / 1613 (H 3498 and Churchill 528). So I mention a neat, small pillar mark (from end-papers in my possession) with the year 1629 alone between the

¹³ George J. Gray and William M. Palmer, *Abstracts from the Wills and Testamentary Documents of Printers, Binders, and Stationers of Cambridge from 1504 to 1699* (London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society by Blades, East & Blades, 1915), p. 70.

¹⁴ W. W. Greg, "On Certain False Dates in Shakespearean Quartos," in: *The Library*, 2d ser., IX: plate before p. 381 (1908).

¹⁵ Except in several LG name-abbreviations. For end-papers watermarked with pots and pillars I thank Mr. D. F. Bogardus, bookbinder at the Huntington Library.

posts, where initials usually are put. As for other small marks, seventeenth-century *formaires* sometimes used nondescript little wireforms in their pot-size moulds or as countermarks in their larger moulds.¹⁶ If we are not surprised that Heawood does not include these less interesting items in his published collection, we may at least note that they are not there.

A fascinating subject for the watermark-detective is the identification of the mills and millers that produced the papers. Ali-baux, Bockwitz, Enschedé, Hössle, Nicolai, Stoppelaar, Weiss, Zonghi—many have worked in this field where there is much to do. In his articles Heawood himself published useful suggestions toward the identification of papermakers of northwest France, particularly through the interpretation and assignment of initials and "triplets." But unfortunately he excludes much of this valuable material from the Introduction to his collection.

Perhaps he was deterred from reprinting it by knowledge, which came to him late, of a piece of research by Henri Bourde de la Rogerie on *Les Papeteries de la région de Morlaix* (Grenoble, 1941).¹⁷ This shows how in the seventeenth century a good many Norman papermakers migrated to Brittany and built mills there. M. Bourde de la Rogerie has not interested himself in the water-

¹⁶ As the countermark to Grapes in the Beaumont & Fletcher Folio of 1647 (Griffin *et al.*): an anvil-shaped bit of mystery.

¹⁷ Tome VIII of *Contribution à l'histoire de la papeterie en France* (Grenoble, L'Industrie Papetière, 1933—). Actually, Bourde de la Rogerie had published notes on the subject in the *Inventaire-sommaire des archives départementales: FINISTÈRE, Série B, III*, rédigé par J. Lemoine & H. Bourde de la Rogerie, xciii-cxcvi; (Quimper, A. Jaouen, 1902); and then an article, "Notes sur les papeteries des environs de Morlaix," in *Bulletin historique et philologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (Paris, 1911). Heawood apparently learned of this article from Churchill. He wrote me, "I had the greatest difficulty in consulting de la Rogerie's article . . . , and after waiting two hours at the B.M. for it . . . , could only read it rather hastily before starting homewards." He mentions the article in "Further Notes," p. 119. When I sent him some excerpts from the Grenoble monograph, he translated them into a letter to *The Library*, 5th ser., III: 141-42; and remarked to me, "I was only too conscious of the incompleteness of what I had said about the French paper-supply and hesitated a good deal about printing it. . . . I am pleased to find that my guesses as to the Guesdons were right so far as they went." An unfortunate little result is that he now refers to "the Breton names of Guesdon and Lejune" (*Watermarks*, p. 26), whereas they are certainly Norman. I am at present preparing some "Notes on Norman Papermakers."

marks in English books; yet he provides answers to some of the questions raised by Heawood's tracings and triplets. Michel Le Jeune and Richard Guesdon become something more than names.¹⁸ The commonest watermark in the second Shakespeare Folio (Cotes 1632) is an obscure label and name which Heawood reads as "GORCET" (H 2186-87); this no doubt appertains to a family named Georget, with mills near Antrain and Fougères (now in Ille-et-Vilaine).¹⁹ The French archivist also supplies important names not known to Heawood; for example, Huet. Jean Huet had come to the Morlaix region by 1636,²⁰ and may be the IH I find in pillar and pot watermarks from 1637 on.²¹ The family prospered, furnished the *maîtres papetiers* for various mills. The name P.HVET (for Pierre Huet) turns up in labels and countermarks around 1660.²² And the most frequent watermark in the first edition of *Paradise Lost* (Simmons 1667) is a label with the name G.HVET—as may be seen in Fletcher's facsimile edition of Milton.²³ As a matter of fact, the Huets have continued in business into the twentieth century, at Pontrieux in Côtes-du-Nord, about thirty-two miles east of Morlaix.²⁴ Yet it is hardly strange that Heawood did not encounter the Huets; among multitudes of marks he gathered as he could, in leisure hours, with enduring patience. He could not follow in the steps of Briquet, ever seeking out answers in French and

¹⁸ Bourde de la Rogerie (1941), pp. 21-22.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 37.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²¹ As in Shirley's *Example and Gamester* (Norton 1637) (Pillars) and Shirley's *Young Admiral* (Cotes 1637) (Pots) (various copies).

²² As in Bacon's *Resuscitatio* (Griffin 1657), sig. 2C1 (ICU), and *Ogilby's Relation of His Majestie's Entertainment* (Roycroft 1660), sigs. B2, D2, G1, K2 (CSmH).

²³ Harris F. Fletcher, ed., *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile*, II: 120 (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1945). Fletcher is uncertain whether the name is Huet or Hues, but the T is plain in one mould-variant.

²⁴ *The Paper Makers' Directory of All Nations*, 47th ed. (London, Dean & Son, 1938), p. 308.

Swiss and German archives. Still, Bourde de la Rogerie might have helped him.

I am pleased that Heawood commonly indicates the position of the chainlines, though sometimes not precisely enough to show just where they cut the anatomy of lions or mermaids. In recent study of mould-variants I have come to realize that the exact position of the chains may be all-important for distinguishing between them. Though Briquet pointed out instances of paired watermarks,²⁵ and Schulte discussed and illustrated variants from *Doppelformen*,²⁶ Heawood seems to have been puzzled by instances of the "same" mark with different countermarks.²⁷ But the subject needs further examination and illustration.

In a crowded book, where already ambiguities occur in the allocation of chainlines and countermarks, it would perhaps be asking for too much, but I rather wish the approximate dates of the watermarks had been noted on the plates themselves, in the manner of Nicolai.²⁸

A fruitful field for study should be the uses of heraldry in the papermaking art. Though Heawood was fortunate in knowing Mr. A. van de Put of the Victoria and Albert Museum and had his friendly aid in identifying certain coats of arms, a number go unidentified. A difficulty is that the mouldmakers took liberties with escutcheons, simplifying them and inserting papermakers' initials when they translated them into filigree wires. Various shields seem to have been copied as mere designs, signifying écu or demy paper, perhaps. This may be the case with the curious shield with quarterly a fess or fleuron and three lions (H 516, 576-78, 580-87), which undergoes variations, including some with two lions only. The fess proves a convenient spot for the

²⁵ Briquet, I: xix.

²⁶ Schulte, pp. 20-25.

²⁷ See e.g. his notes on H 2075, 2236, 2284-85, 2301, 3387, 3389. I am discussing mould-variants elsewhere.

²⁸ A time-saving gadget would be a separate handlist of Heawood numbers and dates, with space for inserting the printers' or papermakers' names.

papermaker's name-abbreviation. The date 1610 in H 576 is presumably a mould-date, for Heawood found it as early as Smith's *Map of Virginia* (Barnes 1612), though his present notes do not show that.²⁹ The design itself seems to be earlier (as in Briquet 1477). Similar lions occur in the complex escutcheon of Orange-Nassau (H 606), and van de Put suggests "one of the Hapsburg-Baden families,"³⁰ but the answer is not yet. A similar problem is the shield in which three fleurs-de-lis are parted per bend from a lion which thus looks as if fallen on his back (H 588-92). Surely this oddity was not the invention of the paper industry. I note earlier examples than any of Heawood's in Lyly's *Six Court Comedies* (Stansby 1632).³¹ The heraldists may do much for the student of watermarks; but in the meantime already-identified arms (as of the Medici, London, Augsburg, Le Pelletier, Épinal, Kaufbeuren, Württemberg-Montbéliard, France & Navarre) might have been listed in the index of Types of Watermarks, or a separate list.

Heawood took a conservative view of bibliography and the place of watermarks in it. He notes that eye-copies and even fragments "may occasionally help bibliographers as indicating where and when a given document was written" (p. 22). He is genuinely interested in the sources of English paper-supply but here restrains conjecture. He mentions a certain unreliability in imprint dates, particularly in engraved titles (p. 29). He is aware of problems of cancels, forgeries, and standing type (p. 30). He finds explanations for the variety of marks in certain books (pp.

²⁹ "Papers Used in England after 1600," pp. 269-70; *Watermarks*, p. 77. The CSmH copy of the *Map of Virginia* contains instead a form of the shield with P [tower] D in the middle base. Other forms of the three-lion shield appear in such important books as the second Shakespeare Folio (Cotes 1632) (ICN, NNP), Speed's *Historie of Great Britain* (Dawson 1632) (ICU), Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* (Cotes 1640) (ICU), and the Beaumont & Fletcher Folio (Griffin et al. 1647) (ICN, on fine paper).

³⁰ "Further Notes," p. 119. In *Watermarks*, p. 26, Heawood refers vaguely to this coat of arms as "probably roughly copied from one used in S. W. Germany."

³¹ The final pages, 2D11-12, with initials MLS (K. Campbell copy) or PH (ICU). I find a particularly clear example with letters MLP in Inigo Jones's *Stoneheng* (Flesher 1655), plate 2 (AHS copy).

30, 33). Yet he seems not to realize that mixed watermarks are clues to rather more than "pirated later issues" and "the fact that paper merchants collected their supplies from scattered sources." That they tend to show which papermakers belonged to a particular district. That they imply certain papers of different watermark were similar in size. That they supply useful evidence as to how books were produced—sometimes by several printers, sometimes on more than one press, in editions of such-and-such sizes, at this or that time of the year.³² That at the least they supplement and check other sorts of evidence. These ultimate values in watermarks were beyond Heawood's horizon; yet they are likely to develop as time moves on and makes use of the hoardings which Heawood has given us.

As the book will serve as the port of embarkation for many a study of paper, it is regrettable that the source notes rarely specify printer, format, size, and copy examined.³³ Rather little being yet known concerning early paper sizes, Heawood might have pointed out watermark-designs analogous to those listed in the Oxford Inventory of 1674;³⁴ but some readers will find it amusing to do this themselves. Among reasons for listing format and printer is the fact that a watermark found in a quarto may sometimes be located in a small folio put forth by the same printer in the same year, where it may be seen in its true proportions—and measured. On the other hand, a mark obscured by print on a folio page may clearly manifest its detail within the inner margins of quarto gatherings. Further, as different copies of a book often show different watermarks, even several within an edition-sheet, and intrusive marks occur now and then,³⁵ the collector

³² I have pointed out such uses in "New Uses of Watermarks as Bibliographical Evidence," in: [*Studies in Bibliography:*] *Papers of the Bibliographical Society, University of Virginia*, I: 151-82 (1948).

³³ Sometimes such information is given in Heawood's earlier notes in *The Library*.

³⁴ R. W. Chapman, "An Inventory of Paper, 1674," in: *The Library*, 4th ser., VII: 402-8 (1926-27).

³⁵ An intrusive watermark may be due to eking out the count of sheets for the press by odds and ends of cording quires or "waste paper" from the warehouse

might have identified his copies systematically, though perhaps one may take for granted that most are RGS or V&A or BM. No doubt he had intended to fill out his notes in some of these ways; but illness and death stayed his hand.

So, too, we may explain the omission of notes identifying early English and Scottish papers. Surely H 2899-2900 are examples of the work of John Spillman, Queen Elizabeth's jeweler-paper-maker, and his son, the crown signifying the royal privilege as in later English marks, and ER standing for Elizabeth Regina. So Heawood himself identified them in 1930.³⁶ He similarly then attributed H 1005-6 to Peter Heare, "the letters referring to the Scottish sovereigns."³⁷ Of like omissions concerning Continental marks I mention one only: in H 1594 the PM with circled fleur-de-lis over FABRIANO presumably stands for Pietro Miliani, one of the great names in the history of paper; but the reader may not know that.

In making his selection of watermarks for this volume, Heawood chose to omit a few marks previously published, such as several twisted Pillars and even two of his beloved Guesdon marks.³⁸ It was well to keep the volume within limits. However, a few duplications occur. A notable example is a broad Spanish fleur-de-lis with BUÑOL above and GASPAR SOLERNOU in countermark position, from a Madrid book of 1730. This appears first in the Fleurs-de-lis section (H 1708) and then twice in the Names section (H 3277, 3422). Judging from the indicated chains, these are not variants of the same mark, but a com-

shelves. Thus, sometimes the extra quire or so allowed for proofs and spoilt sheets may have differed from the regular paper.

³⁶ "Sources of English Paper-Supply," p. 443. Rhys Jenkins found "among the State Papers a letter written by Spilman in 1611 on paper of very good quality which has for a mark the letters E. R., surmounted by a crown. This paper was in all probability made by Spilman himself." ("Paper-making in England, 1588-1680," in: *Library Association Record*, II: 582 [1900].) The design shown by Heawood is strikingly like that of a printer's ornament of Edward Allde reproduced in *The Library*, 4th ser., X: 157 (1929-30).

³⁷ "Sources of English Paper-Supply," p. 443.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 163; "Further Notes," nos. 148-49, 155-58. The omissions may be oversights, for the designs are unlike any of those included.

mentary on the accuracy of Heawood's tracing. The mark hardly needed to appear in the B pages under Names, for the components of this interesting watermark imply that a Gaspar Solernou had a mill at Buñol, a papermaking town on a stream of the same name, twenty-six miles west of Valencia. The indexing of this mark is odd, for Buñol and Gaspar are listed under Names of Persons—but not Solernou! It is, by the way, awkward not to find the papermakers of the Names section included in this index of Persons. The economy costs the user time and error.

A few other lapses in the Names index may be noted. Add ARADO 1879 and omit MAURIZIO. For BASNET read BASSUET. Enter CHASTEL 3516. Delete HIJO as meaning "son" or give a cross reference to J^{NBT} E HIJO. Add under JOBERT 2280. Add LE BE 2872, 2877-78. LEJUNE 2279 should be under LEJEUNE, if there is any point in distinguishing these spellings. ROUS[E] is probably a shortened form of ROUSEL.³⁹ Add under VAULEGARD 635-36. In the second list of names ANGOUMOIS, AUVERGNE, B. NORMANDIE and similar province-names do not appear. For CASADVAL read perhaps CASA DEVALL. Add under FABRIANO 3323. Add LYMOGE 628, VITRE 628. I have made no systematic check of these matters. From the List of Dates 1627(?) 584 is missing. The list of Types of Watermarks might have included Dolphin, Dove, Mermaid, Railroad Train, and others.

The most inconvenient omission occurs in the (yet valuable) index of Letters Found in Watermarks. By an oversight about thirty plates, including the important Pillar and Pot sections, were passed over; and one needs to check through these pages when trying to identify initials and name-abbreviations. I understand that some rectification of this error is to be made.⁴⁰ A few

³⁹ The name occurs as Rouxel at Morlaix: Bourde de la Rogerie, p. 20.

⁴⁰ Mr. Labarre tells me that he is aghast to find that a large number of letters were lost sight of in dictating the index. The sections affected are Names (a few plates), Picador, Plough, Posts, Pot (H 3245-3694). He expects to print the missing numbers on a single sheet which will be sent out for insertion in the letter index. The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia has also indicated its willingness to publish such a list.

other groups of letters seem to have been left out,⁴¹ but some are cases of ambiguity: C's and G's often being distinguishable only through inspiration. In setting the type for the offset job, two pages of copy for this same index appear to have got interchanged, so that IIV through ITFVT comes after IWS. And one wonders why the Royal Cypher list was placed between G and H.

Those who use this volume will need to remember that it is the posthumous child of an octogenarian, that its complexities made perfection improbable. It would be well for them to send further corrections to the editor. Meanwhile and joyfully, bibliographers will be exploring a new world of watermarks and seeking out further ways to employ them.

This resplendent collection of watermarks forms the first volume in a series of *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia* under the general editorship of E. J. Labarre. The second volume, to be published in 1951, will be *The Briquet Album*, an important collection of articles on the work and method of Charles Moïse Briquet, with bibliographies and translated indexes to his *Dictionnaire*. We look forward to this publication with pleased anticipation.

Students of the printed book, while using such marvelous tools as the British Museum *Catalogue of Fifteenth Century Books* or Greg's *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama*, now and then may wonder that an infinity of pains is spent on matters typographical—with scarcely or rarely a note on the paper that took the impression of the type. Yet in time paper may have its due.

⁴¹ GD 4034 (not 4024), GR 3700, 3702, 3706, ICH/F 1269, ID 3216, IGI/P(?) 1267, IGR 1274 (not 1247), ILG(?) 1889, ILP 1054, IPO(?) 1697, LCH/F(?) 1270, MLP 390, PLG 2929, RPO not 1269. The user needs to remember that only the first number of a series is given in the indexes.

Some errors in the List of Sources and among the watermarks themselves will be revealed through use. Thus "Guillain" on p. 79 and elsewhere should be "Guillim"; and the letters on watermark 3637 should be P/DB, not D/DB—the pot being probably a mark of the Debon family of Normandy.

Dr. Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopaedia*

By MORSE PECKHAM

Nov. 9, 1829. Moore is employed in conjunction with Scott and Macintosh to write a history of England for one of the new publications like the Family Library. Scott is to write Scotland, Macintosh England, and Moore Ireland; and they get 1,000*l.* apiece; but Scott could not compress his share into one volume, so he is to have 1,500*l.* The republication of Scott's works will produce him an enormous fortune; he has already paid off 30,000*l.* of the Constable bankruptcy debt, and he is to pay the remaining 30,000*l.* very soon. A new class of readers is produced by the Bell and Lancaster schools, and this is the cause of the prodigious and extensive sale of cheap publications.

SO wrote Greville the diarist a few weeks before Dr. Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopaedia* began its career with the publication of the first volume of Sir Walter Scott's *History of Scotland*. When the last volume was published in 1846, the publishers had issued sixty-one titles in 133 parts. Not including unidentified writers, thirty-eight authors contributed. Greville understood precisely the nature of the venture and the audience at which it was directed. So did Thomas Love Peacock.

"God bless my soul, sir!" exclaimed the Reverend Doctor Folliott, . . . "I am out of all patience with this march of mind. Here has my house been nearly burned down, by my cook taking it into her head to study hydrostatics in a six-penny tract, published by the Steam Intellect Society, and written by a learned friend who is for doing all the world's business as well as his own, and is equally well qualified to handle every branch of human knowledge." (*Crotchet Castle*, Chapter II.)

Peacock is thinking primarily of Lord Brougham, one of the founders of The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, but he is also probably hitting at Dr. Dionysius Lardner, the

editor of the *Cabinet Cyclopaedia*, as part of which he published in April, 1831, his Treatise on *Hydrostatics and Pneumatics*. Dr. Lardner was great on Steam and its Uses, and his writings on the subject had contributed much to his reputation.

According to John Gibson Lockhart, the publisher Constable was the first to realize that an immense revolution was about to remake the publishing trade. In 1825 he explained to Scott his project for *Constable's Miscellany*, the first in the long history of series of cheap publications.¹ To Constable it was the general diffusion of wealth and the immense untapped market which needed to be appealed to; but, as Greville realized, the most significant factor was the spread of literacy through the systems of Bell and Lancaster, who used pupils as teachers as soon as possible. The revolution in literacy, partly the result of the spread of liberal ideas by the French Revolution, partly of the desire to combat those ideas by teaching the poor to read the Bible and religious tracts,² was to have an effect on modern society almost as profound as the industrial and agricultural revolutions. The mass-culture of today, with its striking division between popular art and high art, was the result. Another factor in the development of literacy and in the spread of the habits of reading was the influence of the Utilitarians, Bentham, the elder Mill, and their younger followers. The young Utilitarians of the 1820's, the friends of J. S. Mill, many of whom became politically and culturally important figures in later years, were particularly anxious to spread literacy. Their reasons were primarily two. First was the general faith of the Utilitarians in education as a necessary social preliminary to universal manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, and the rest of their radical program. The second was their neo-Malthusianism; they felt that the population could not be kept down unless the proletariat was educated to

¹ J. G. Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, Chapter LXII.

² See Maurice James Quinlan, *Victorian Prelude, a History of English Manners, 1700-1830* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941).

understand both the advantages and the methods of controlling the size of families.³ All these factors worked together to produce such enterprises as The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, founded in 1827, and London University, which the poet Campbell and Brougham and their Whig and Utilitarian friends began to work for in 1825. Out of this situation of spreading literacy and agitation for political, social, and educational reform came the *Cabinet Cyclopaedia*, edited by one of the men who saw the possibilities for simultaneously extending knowledge and making money, Dr. Dionysius Lardner.

Lardner (1793-1859) was a native of Dublin, where he attended Trinity College (B.A., 1817; M.A., 1819), receiving prizes in logic, metaphysics, ethics, and mathematics, and a gold medal for lectures on the steam engine to the Dublin Royal Society.⁴ From the time he left Trinity he was an active writer and diffuser of knowledge, contributing to the *Edinburgh Review*, in which Brougham for years had published on almost every conceivable topic, the *Encyclopaedia Edimensis*, and the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*, and publishing a number of mathematical and technical treatises on various subjects. He was just the man for a university being pushed by Brougham, and in 1827 he was called to London to be the first Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in London University, which opened for instruction in October, 1828. Years later, after he had fled from London in disgrace and scandal, the *Athenaeum* published the obituary of his London career, in a review which points directly to his particular qualities and which shows also that the great days of the initial excitement over the diffusion of knowledge were already gone.

³ See in particular for this subject, Élie Halévy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism*, trans. M. Morris (London, Faber & Gwyer, 1928), 364-5 and Part III, Chapter IV, *passim*.

⁴ Unless otherwise indicated all biographical details in this paper are taken from the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

It were curious to examine at this moment into the secret of Dr. Lardner's great popularity as an author. It is probable, that had he lived either twenty years later or earlier, he would not have been so distinguished as he has been. He was floated into popularity on the very crest of the tide of diffusion-of-knowledge treatises, popular universities, and popular libraries; of popular institutions, and lectures of all kinds; and he was we think, decidedly the most popular, and the most deservedly popular, of all the popular writers of his day. . . . As a lecturer in the London University, no man gave better attended lectures on the elementary parts of Science, and no one could have addressed a greater number of empty benches when the profounder abstractions of mathematics were to be developed. (*Athenaeum*, Dec. 5, 1840, No. 684, p. 962.)

The *Cabinet Cyclopaedia* was first projected in 1827 or 1828. It was probably, as Lockhart says of Murray's *Family Library*, "one of the many imitations of Constable's last scheme." This remark occurs in a note to a letter from Scott to Lockhart, dated July 14, 1828.

If it be true that Longman and Co. have offered £1000 for a history of Ireland, Scotland must stand fifty per cent. discount, for they lately offered me £500 for one of the latter country, which of course I declined. I have also had Murray's request to do some biography for his new undertaking. (Lockhart's *Scott*, Chapter LXXVII.)

Whether Lardner originated the idea for the *Cyclopaedia* and took it to Longman's, or whether Longman's or some member of the firm or of John Taylor's firm, originated it, I have not been able to discover. Whichever was responsible, planning was under way in the first half of 1828; and in December, 1829, the first number was published, with the imprint of Longman, Reese, Orme, Brown, and Greene, and of John Taylor.

Certainly the plan of the *Cyclopaedia* was both original and clever. Instead of employing the alphabetical arrangement common to similar works, Lardner, or whoever it was, proposed that each volume deal with a complete subject, and that the whole work be subdivided into nine different classifications, so that a subscriber might have, for instance, "The Cabinet of Literature"

or "The Cabinet of Natural Philosophy" without having to purchase the entire series. Further, individual volumes might be purchased separately, and as each monthly part or volume was issued it was advertised in the *Athenaeum* and other magazines and papers. The term "subscriber" which appears in the Prospectus is misleading. The whole advantage of issuing the work in the plan adopted meant that "subscribers" in the usual sense of persons who committed themselves to purchasing the whole work or selected parts of it were more or less unnecessary. Most of the sales were probably to non-subscribers. One of the effects of the Revolution in Literacy, or the March of Mind, as contemporaries called it, was that publishers could undertake large and costly works, if they were of sufficiently popular appeal, without having to depend upon subscriptions either pledged or received in advance. There was a new audience, and Lardner was determined to reach it.

It consisted of "those who seek that portion of information respecting" technical and professional subjects "which is generally expected from well-educated persons." "The present work, from its portable form and popular style, will claim a place in the drawing-room and the boudoir." The language is the language of the Regency, but the appeal to a serious audience is a sign of the growing earnestness of the Victorian world. "Nothing will be admitted into the pages of the 'CABINET CYCLOPAEDIA' which can have the most remote tendency to offend public or private morals. To enforce the cultivation of religion and the practice of virtue should be a principal object with all who undertake to inform the public mind."⁵

The Prospectus outlined the proposed subjects and number of volumes in each "Cabinet," though "the Conductor cannot pledge himself to the precise extent of each department, nor

⁵ Prospectus, 4-5. All references to the Prospectus are to the copy in Scott's *Scotland*, I, in the University of Pennsylvania Library. The original advertising matter is rarely found in copies of volumes of the *Cyclopaedia*.

even to all the subjects which it may be found advantageous to introduce or omit."

It is not expected that the volumes of the "*CABINET CYCLOPAEDIA*" will be studied for professional purposes. The lawyer, the physician, and the divine, will seek elsewhere that profound knowledge of the details of their respective subjects which is necessary to the attainment of eminence in their professions. The treatises which are designed for this work will, on the contrary, be suited to the *general reader*, and will, therefore, contain just so much information on every subject as those who are not professionally engaged in it require. Since the great stimulus to study, immediate utility or profit, will, therefore, operate in a less degree in this case, it will be more necessary to invest each subject with as many adventitious attractions as may be consistent with sound reasoning and a pure taste. (Prospectus, p. 6.)

To present the several arts and sciences in a form which shall be universally intelligible, to render them attractive to the general reader, yet, at the same time, to inculcate sound principles, and, by transfusing through the whole work a philosophic spirit, not only to stimulate the diffusion of knowledge, but to raise the tone of the public mind, and to awaken a taste for the contemplation of the works of nature and the results of art, is the great object to be accomplished. (Prospectus, pp. 6-7.)

The great merit of the plan was that a popular volume could be frequently reprinted; that scientific treatises would be written as non-technically as possible and could be revised and brought up to date without necessitating the complete reprinting of the *Cyclopaedia*; and that because of the flexibility of the distribution and sales a very large audience could be reached, even though some volumes might have less appeal than others. America paid its tribute to the excellence of the idea; Carey and Lea of Philadelphia started pirating the work almost at once.

Each volume sold for six shillings, a price that suggests, as the works themselves do, that Lardner was aiming at the middle-classes and the intelligent and fairly prosperous "operative" and tradesman, rather than the general working-classes, the audience of the *Penny Cyclopaedia* of The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Each volume was a foolscap octavo, 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches

by 7 inches, bound in the new cloth bindings.⁶ The half-title reads, "The Cabinet Cyclopaedia"; the title repeats this, adds the sub-title or "Cabinet" designation, and the title of the particular work and author. There follows an engraved vignette title. In addition, for those who purchased only a single "Cabinet" there was another half-title bound into the back of the book; it made no reference to the *Cyclopaedia* but read, for example, "The Cabinet of History." Lardner's name followed, and the title and author of the particular volume. I have seen a number of copies in which this extra half-title has replaced the original half-title and title. The individual volumes issued monthly were given a "part-number" printed on the patch-title of the spine. This number is not to be found elsewhere in the volume. The printer was A. & R. Spottiswoode, New-Street-Square, London.

In lining up his authors Lardner was as successful as he could have hoped. The prospectus of 1829 lists forty-eight names, many of them famous in their day and some still famous today. His historians were Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Walter Scott, Thomas Moore, and Connop Thirlwall, who was becoming well-known through his translation, with J. G. Hare, of Niebuhr's *History of Rome*. For naval biography he engaged the greatest of hacks, Robert Southey, and for legal biography Henry Roscoe, a young man known for his legal treatises. In the sciences he had the younger Herschel, Sir John, the great astronomer, who did books on astronomy and on the philosophy of science. There was a brilliant young mathematician and statistician, August de Morgan, first professor of mathematics at London University, who wrote a book on the application of probabilities to insurance. Nicholas Harris Nicolas, who was becoming well-known as an antiquarian, wrote on the chronology of history. Michael Dono-

⁶ The original bindings I have seen, which are few and all at the University of Pennsylvania Library, are maroon linen. I have examined a number of copies of parts of the work in other libraries; the binding is usually three-quarters leather.

van, apparently a chemist, about whom I have been able to discover nothing, did two volumes on domestic economy. The famous Sir David Brewster, authority on optics, wrote for Lardner on that subject; Henry Kater, an authority on weights and measures and on balances and pendulums, contributed a chapter to Lardner's *Mechanics*. Finally there was Lardner himself, who was responsible for two books on mathematics and four on physics.

And there ends the list of the announced authorities who actually wrote for the *Cyclopaedia*. What happened to the remaining thirty-five? It is of some interest to list the names and achievements of these men, if only to speculate on what might have been and to indicate that something went seriously wrong with Lardner's plans. The order is that of the prospectus, omitting those already mentioned.

Thomas Campbell (1777-1844), poet, editor, and founder of London University.

Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849), the famous novelist.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834).

Thomas Dale (1797-1870), translator of Sophocles and Professor of English Language and Literature at London University.

George Long (1800-1879), authority on Roman Law and Professor of Greek at London University.

Frederick Rosen, of the University of Berlin.

George Dolland (1774-1852), an inventor of optical and astronomical instruments and one of the founders of the Astronomical Society.

Henry Parr Hamilton (1794-1880), author of several books on geometry.

William Pearson (1767-1847), author of a famous *Introduction to Practical Astronomy*.

John Pond (1767-1836), the Astronomer Royal since 1811 and the reformer of the Greenwich Observatory.

T. B. Robinson (1792-1882), the astronomer at Armagh Observatory.

Edward Sabine (1788-1883), associate of Herschel, famous for his studies on the pendulum.

Edward Troughton (1753-1835), a famous scientific instrument maker and author of the descriptions of his own instruments.

John Jakob Berzelius (1779-1848), the great Swedish chemist.

Edward Turner (1798-1837), Professor of Chemistry at London University.

Sir Francis Beaufort (1774-1857), hydrographer to the Navy.

Davies Gilbert (1767-1839), President of the Royal Society.

William Young Ottley (1771-1836), well-known writer on the history of art, a pioneer in his field.

John Landseer (1769-1852), engraver, painter, author, and Babylonian archaeologist.

William Wilkins (1778-1839), the architect of buildings at Cambridge and of the new London University College.

Anthony Todd Thomson (1778-1849), Professor of Materia Medica at London University.

There were also John Taylor, F.R.S., whom I have not been able to identify, and a J. A. Wade, who may have been the composer of that name (1796?-1845), although this seems improbable for various reasons.

One of the most notable divisions of the *Cyclopaedia* was to have been the Cabinet of Natural History. In 1822 John C. Loudon (1783-1843) published *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening, comprehending the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture, and Landscape Gardening*; the publisher was Longman & Co. In 1827 it was proposed to revise this work and extend it to include Zoology. The plan was merged with that for the *Cabinet Cyclopaedia*, and the following authorities were to write the individual volumes: Thomas Bell (1785-1860); Turner Bennet (1795-1836); James F. Bicheno (1785-1851); John G. Children (1777-1852); John Fleming (1785-1857); Thomas Horsfield (1773-1859); Armand Levi; John Lindley (1799-1865), Professor of Botany at London University; William Sharpe McLeay (1792-1865); Joseph Sabine (1770-1837); Nicholas A. Vigors (1785-1840); and William Yarrell (1785-1856). All these men were authorities in their various fields, active in the scientific societies, and frequently founders, for many of the learned societies were founded in the 1820's and 1830's. Nevertheless, this plan for the Cabinet of Natural His-

tory collapsed, and William Swainson, who had been engaged as the illustrator, took over the entire project, as he tells us in the article on himself in the volume on taxidermy. From 1834 to 1840 he issued nine separate works in eleven volumes; with the exception of Dunham's it was the largest share in the *Cyclopaedia* of a single contributor.

In later advertisements Lardner gave other names as contributors to the work who nevertheless did not publish. Among them was T. B. Macaulay, who designed a history of France from the restoration of the Bourbons to the accession of Louis Philippe. This was originally intended for the *Edinburgh Review*, but Napier rescinded his order for it at the request of Brougham, an action which Macaulay never forgot and never forgave.⁷ At one time Carlyle thought his unfortunate *History of German Literature* was to appear in the series, and Lardner once announced his name as a contributor, but nothing came of it.⁸

As for those who did write for Lardner, it is instructive to compare them with those who were advertised but did not. The age groups are revealing. The average of the whole prospectus group was forty-six years in 1829; of those who did not contribute, forty-nine years; of those who did, forty-two years. The average of the contributors who were not in the prospectus was thirty-five years. Furthermore, a number of the volumes by the non-prospectus group were issued anonymously, a strange method for a series supposed to be written by authorities; certainly most of them were not nearly so well known either at the time or later as those in the prospectus who did not contribute, and the authorship of some volumes has never been determined. A good many of this substitute group were quite plainly literary hacks: James Montgomery, long past his prime, such as it was;

⁷ G. O. Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1876), I: 159.

⁸ David A. Wilson, *Carlyle to "The French Revolution,"* (1826-1837) (London, K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1924), p. 266.

Mary Shelley; G. P. R. James; Robert Bell. Even John Forster, who made his reputation with his volumes of biographies of the leaders of the Commonwealth, to which Robert Browning made an undetermined contribution, was unknown when he began to work for Lardner;⁹ and his contemporary, Samuel Astley Dunham, greatly respected by Southey, published volume after volume before his name appeared on a title-page, although one of his contributions, his *History of Spain and Portugal*, was translated into Spanish in 1844 and was long considered the best work on the subject in any language. To be sure, Lardner did manage to get some well-known men. Swainson was already noted for his drawings of animals, and his volumes in the series are in greater demand today than any of the others. G. R. Porter, who married one of Ricardo's daughters, was beginning to be known as an economist; from 1827, Baden Powell held the Savilian Chair of Geometry at Oxford; J. G. Henslow was from 1822 to 1827 Professor of Mineralogy at Cambridge, and from 1827 Professor of Botany at the same university; G. R. Gleig had some fame as a military historian; Henry Stebbing had, in 1827, a share in the planning of the *Athenaeum* and was its working editor from 1827 to 1830.

The nineteen substitute contributors were at the time and subsequently a far less distinguished group than Lardner had originally announced. For example, the prospectus included six professors of the London University aside from Lardner himself. Of these only de Morgan actually contributed. Something must have happened. Probably the difficulty was financial. Scott was certainly overpaid for what he turned out, as was Moore for his *Ireland*. The substitution of unknowns for fairly important and even famous men suggests that money was the trouble. Again, it is not every authority who can write on a popular level and still write well, accurately, and seriously. Lardner also had a some-

⁹ William C. DeVane, *A Browning Handbook* (New York, F. S. Crofts & Co., 1935), p. 59.

what contentious personality, and a remark of Macaulay's indicates what may have been another cause of the withdrawal or dismissal of three-quarters of the original group. Before he died in 1832, Mackintosh finished only three volumes of his *England*, which he had been planning since 1812, and a *Life of More*, part of the series called *Eminent British Statesmen*. A letter of Macaulay's of Dec. 25, 1833, states that what Mackintosh bore from Lardner was "horrible." Moore also was unhappy, and his *Ireland*, for the writing of which he was unfit, contributed, according to his biographers, more than anything else to the sadness of his last years and to the collapse of his health.

Nevertheless, the *Cyclopaedia* on the whole was a distinguished and valuable work. Some of the books became famous; Herschel on Natural Philosophy and on Astronomy; Thirlwall on Greece; Forster on the Commonwealth leaders; Swainson's works; de Morgan on probabilities; some of Dunham's histories; Lardner's various contributions; Sismondi's histories, which were of course not originally written for Lardner; Stebbing's religious histories; and Walker's completion of Lardner's work on electricity.

The series appeared regularly for a good many years. Scott's *Scotland*, as indicated above, appeared in December, 1829. In a letter of Dec. 11, Scott says that he has seen it but that the print is too small for him to read it.¹⁰ The book, however, is dated 1830. The other parts appeared as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Part Nos.</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Part Nos.</i>
1830	2-13	1837	86-97
1831	14-25	1838	98-109
1832	26-37	1839	110-119
1833	38-49	1840	120-129
1834	50-61	1841	130
1835	62-73	1844	131-132
1836	74-85	1846	133

¹⁰ Sir Walter Scott, *Letters*, ed. by H. J. C. Grierson *et al.* (London, Constable, 1936), XI: 277.

Sometime in 1839 it was decided to bring the *Cyclopaedia* to a conclusion. Perhaps, as the *Athenaeum* was to suggest a few years later, the great days of the March of Mind were over.

All the literary arrangements for completing the work being now concluded, the proprietors beg to inform the subscribers and the public that there now remains to be published only 20 more vols.

So reads an advertisement in the *Athenaeum* for Aug. 10, 1839, (No. 615, p. 598). In fact, twenty-seven more parts were issued. Another advertisement in the same paper (January 4, 1840), announced that the work would be completed in 135 volumes, two more than actually were published. Probably the reason that the two final volumes never appeared was that in March, 1840, Lardner eloped with a Mrs. Heaviside, wife of Captain Richard Heaviside. The affair caused considerable scandalous excitement at the time, and Lardner's hasty departure for Paris and then for America, after having been soundly beaten by the Captain, accounts for the obituary tone in the *Athenaeum* article of Dec. 5, 1840, as well as for the fact that after his departure the only volumes to be published were concluding volumes to complete a series or volumes already written. There was one exception. The MS for his own work on electricity was completed by Charles Walker, who did such a good job that he established his reputation. The two volumes of this work appeared in 1841 and 1844, the eighth volume of Thirlwall's *Greece* in 1844, and the sixth volume of Moore's *Ireland*, one of the first works contracted for, in 1846.

The implication of the proprietors that the work would be completed when publication was suspended was inexact, to say the least. The following table shows the comparison between the original prospectus and the actual achievement. Since the original idea was that each work would be completed in a volume, and since a good many of the works actually published required a number of volumes, it would seem that the plan was exceeded

by 31 volumes. On the other hand, when the prospectus was published it was known that Scott's book would be in two volumes, and indeed of the first thirteen parts fewer than half were complete works. The rest were volumes of multi-volumed works.

<i>Cabinet</i>	<i>Proposed Volumes</i>	<i>Titles Published</i>	<i>Volumes Published</i>
Natural Philosophy	8	12	13
Arts	10	5	9
Natural History	12	12	15
Geography	6	2	4
Philosophy	6	0	0
Literature	6	0	0
History	24	21	61
Biography	24	9	31
Dictionary	6	0	0
Totals	102	61	133

Of what value is the *Cyclopaedia* today? Like all such works it is out of date, but that very fact makes it a work of great interest to the student of the history of ideas, to the student of the history of science, and to the student of cultural sociology. The great advantage of successive editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is that by examining an article in each edition one can determine with some accuracy when an idea or fact may be supposed to have entered into general knowledge. The value of the *Cabinet Cyclopaedia* is that for each subject covered one can find a general and integrated discussion of the current state of knowledge in that subject. The peculiar conditions of publication and the audience it was designed to reach, a lay rather than a professional audience, makes the work as a whole highly useful for determining the general state of knowledge on a good many subjects in the 1830's. It is only one such tool, but it is a particularly useful and valuable means by which one can understand the general state of mind, of knowledge, and of intelligence in the 1830's. To give only one example, in his *Astronomy* Sir John Herschel speaks quite casually of the inhabitants of the planet Saturn. Such a statement gives one the proper background for understanding

the importance and originality of the as yet scarcely studied astronomical writings of J. P. Nichol, and in turn of Chambers' *Vestiges of Creation*, which depended apparently a good deal on Nichol's work for some of its most important conclusions. In short, the value of Lardner's *Cyclopaedia* is of considerable but of undetermined value, partly because so much research on what Peacock called *The March of Mind*, as did Tennyson in *Locksley Hall*, remains to be done.

Since bibliographical information about the work is difficult to obtain, I shall add here a complete author-title list of the various parts of the *Cyclopaedia*. The list in Lowndes is incomplete and lacks dates for individual titles or volumes. The *British Museum Catalogue* enters the individual titles but has no general entry for the whole work. Moreover, individual dates of publication are lacking. Various standard bibliographies list individual works, usually with only the date for the complete work, "1830-1849." Why, I do not know, unless second editions which I have not seen were published in the latter year. Certainly, the last part appeared as a new publication in 1846. The various bibliographies of anonymous works apparently have as authority for their ascriptions the series of advertisements run in the *Athenaeum* as the publication period of the *Cyclopaedia* drew to a close. These announcements list the works in groups, usually "Cabinets," and give the authors for most of the anonymous works.¹¹

¹¹ For authorship of books published anonymously I have checked the ascriptions in W. T. Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, revised by H. G. Bohn (London, Bell, 1858-1864), against Samuel Halkett and John Laing, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain*, revised by James Kennedy, W. A. Smith, and A. F. Johnson (Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1926-1934), which is unsatisfactory for this purpose and incomplete, *The British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*, the *D.N.B.*, and the catalogues of the University of Pennsylvania Library, Princeton University Library, and Free Library of Philadelphia. With the exception of Wilson's *Switzerland*, found only in Halkett and Laing, there is substantial agreement, probably because all derive from Lowndes, which in turn no doubt derives from the advertisements of 1841 in the *Athenaeum*. (See above.) Wheatley seems to have had other sources of information; how reliable it is hard to say.

A CHECK-LIST OF LARDNER'S
"CABINET CYCLOPAEDIA"

(*Form of entry.* Authors are arranged alphabetically; works in order of publication, or of publication of first volume; before each title a letter indicates which cabinet it belongs to, as follows:

A	Arts and Useful Arts
B	Biography
G	Geography
H	History
NH	Natural History
NP	Natural Philosophy

After each title is an indication to that effect if the work was published anonymously. For each title or, where appropriate, volume number, there follows, in parentheses, the part-number in the series, and the date of publication. If a work was collaborative, it is entered under each of the authors involved, and cross-references are included. The dates of the authors are placed after their names; an asterisk indicates that the author appeared in the 1829 prospectus.)

BELL, ROBERT (1800-1867)

- H *The History of Rome* (anon.), I (50), 1834; II (73), 1835.
H *Russia* (anon.), I (79), 1836; II (85), 1836; III (100), 1838.
B *Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Great Britain: English Poets*, I (112), 1839; II (119), 1839.
H *England*, X (124), 1840 (see Mackintosh and Wallace).
B *Lives of the British Admirals with an Introductory View of the Naval History of England*, V (128), 1840 (see Southey).

BREWSTER, DAVID* (1771-1868)

- NP *Optics*, (19), 1831; new ed., 1838.

COOLEY, WILLIAM DESBOROUGH (d. 1883)

- G *History of Maritime Discovery* (anon.), I (2), 1830; II (11), 1830; III (16), 1831.

COURTENAY, THOMAS PEREGRINE (1782-1841)

- B *Eminent British Statesmen*, "Cecil," "Osborne," V (101), 1838
(see Forster and Mackintosh).

CROWE, EYRE EVANS (1799-1866)

- H *History of France*, I (12), 1830; II (15), 1831; III (23), 1831.
B *Eminent Foreign Statesmen*, I (46), 1833 (see James).

DE MORGAN, AUGUST* (1806-1871)

- NP *An Essay on Probabilities and on their Application to Life Contingencies and Insurance Offices*, (107), 1838.

DONOVAN, MICHAEL*

- A *Domestic Economy*, I (3), *Brewing*, 1830, II (94), *Human Food*, 1837.
NP *Chemistry*, (34), 1832.

DUNHAM, SAMUEL ASTLEY (d. 1858)

- H *Poland* (anon.), (20), 1831.
H *Spain and Portugal* (anon.), I (29), 1832; II (30), 1832; III (32), 1832; IV (35), 1832; V (38), 1833.
H *Europe during the Middle Ages* (anon.), I (45), 1833; II (49), 1833; III (53), 1834; IV (58), 1834.
H *The History of the Germanic Empire*, I (60), 1834; II (64), 1835; III (67), 1835.
B *Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Great Britain and Ireland* (anon.), I (84), 1836 (Early Writers: St. Columba, Alfred, Chaucer, Heywood, Spenser); II (93), 1837 (Dramatists: Shakespeare to Webster); III (106), 1838 (Dramatists: Shirley to Mrs. Cowley).
H *Denmark, Sweden, and Norway*, I (110), 1839; II (118), 1839; III (122), 1840.

FERGUS, HENRY

- H *History of the United States of America*, I (13), 1830; II (33), 1832.

FORSTER, JOHN (1812-1876)

- B *Eminent British Statesmen* (anon.), (Statesmen of the Commonwealth), II (78), 1836; III (91), 1837; IV (99), 1838; VI (108), 1838; VII (115), 1839 (see Courtenay and Mackintosh).

FOSBROKE, THOMAS DUDLEY (1770-1842)

- A *Treatise on the Arts of the Greeks and the Romans* (anon.), I (47), 1833; II (70), 1835.

GLEIG, GEORGE ROBERT (1796-1888)

- B *Eminent British Military Commanders*, I (25), 1831; II (28), 1832; III (36), 1832.

GRATTAN, THOMAS COLLEY (1792-1864)

- H *The History of the Netherlands*, (10), 1830.

HENSLow, JOHN STEVENS (1796-1861)

- NH *Descriptive and Physiological Botany*, (75), 1836; new ed., 1837.

HERSCHEL, JOHN FREDERICK WILLIAM* (1792-1871)

- NP *A Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*, (14), 1831.

- NP *Astronomy*, (43), 1833.

HOLLAND, JOHN

- A *A Treatise on the Progressive Improvement and Present State of the Manufactures in Metal* (anon.), I (24), *Iron and Steel*, 1831; II (42), *Iron and Steel*, 1833; III (54), *Tin, Lead, Copper, Brass, Gold, Silver, and Various Alloys*, 1834.

JAMES, GEORGE PAYNE RAINSFORD (1799-1860)

- B *Eminent Foreign Statesmen*, II (76), 1836; III (82), 1836; IV (89), 1837; V (102), 1838 (see Crowe).

KATER, HENRY*

- NP *Mechanics* (with Lardner), (5), 1830.

KEIGHTLEY, THOMAS (1789-1872)

H *Outlines of History from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (anon.), (9), 1830.

LARDNER, DIONYSIUS* (1793-1859)

NP *Mechanics* (with Kater), (5), 1830.

NP *A Treatise on Hydrostatics and Pneumatics*, (17), 1831; (new ed.), 1837.

NP *A Treatise on Heat*, (39), 1833.

NP *Treatise on Arithmetic Practical and Theoretical*, (55), 1834.

NP *A Treatise on Geometry and its Application in the Arts*, (127), 1840.

NP *A Manual of Electricity, Magnetism, and Meteorology*, ed. and comp. by Charles V. Walker, I (130), 1841; II (131), 1844.

MACKINTOSH, JAMES* (1765-1832)

H *England*, I (8), 1830; II (18), 1831; III (37), 1832 (see Wallace and Bell).

B *Eminent British Statesmen*, I (21), 1831, "Sir Thomas More"; other authors unidentified (see Courtenay and Forster).

MONTGOMERY, JAMES (1771-1854)

B *Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Italy, Spain, and Portugal* (with Mary Shelley and others, unidentified), I (63), 1835; II (71), 1835; III (96), 1837.

MOORE, THOMAS* (1779-1852)

H *History of Ireland*, I (65), 1835; II (90), 1837; III (121), 1840; IV (133), 1846.

NICOLAS, NICHOLAS HARRIS* (1799-1848)

H *The Chronology of History*, (44), 1833.

PHILLIPS, JOHN (1800-1874)

NH *A Treatise on Geology*, I (97), 1837; II (111), 1839.

POWELL, BADEN (1796-1860)

NP *An Historical View of the Progress of the Physical and Mathematical Sciences from the Earliest Ages to the Present Times*, (51), 1834.

PORTER, GEORGE RICHARDSON (1792-1852)

A *A Treatise on the Origin, Progressive Improvement, and Present State of the Silk Manufacture* (anon.), (22), 1831.

A *The Manufacture of Porcelain and Glass* (anon.), (26), 1832.

ROSCOE, HENRY* (1800-1836)

B *Eminent British Lawyers*, (6), 1830.

SCOTT, SIR WALTER* (1771-1832)

H *The History of Scotland*, I (1), 1830; II (4), 1830.

SHELLEY, MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT GODWIN (1797-1851)

B *Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Italy, Spain, and Portugal* (with Montgomery and others, unidentified) (anon.), I (63), 1835; II (71), 1835; III (96), 1837.

B *Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of France* (anon., with others, unidentified), I (105), 1838; II (117), 1839.

SHUCKARD, W. E. (1802-1868)

NH *On the History and Natural Arrangement of Insects* (with Swainson), (129), 1840.

DE SIMONDE DE SISMONDI, JEAN CHARLES LEONARD (1773-1842)

H *History of the Italian Republics, or the Origin, Progress, and Fall of Italian Freedom* (anon.), (27), 1832.

H *History of the Fall of the Roman Empire, Comprising a View of the Invasion and Settlement of the Barbarians*, I (56), 1834; II (61), 1834.

SOUTHEY, ROBERT* (1774-1843)

B *Lives of the British Admirals with an Introductory View of the Naval History of England*, I (40), 1833; II (48), 1833; III (57), 1834; IV (87), 1837 (see Bell).

STEBBING, HENRY (1789-1833)

H *History of the Christian Church*, I (41), 1833; II (52), 1834.

H *History of the Reformation*, I (77), 1836; II (86), 1837.

SWAINSON, WILLIAM

NH *A Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural History*, (59), 1834.

NH *A Treatise on the Geography and Classification of Animals*, (66), 1835.

NH *On the Natural History and Classification of Quadrupeds*, (72), 1835.

NH *On the Natural History and Classification of Birds*, I (83), 1836; II (92), 1837.

NH *Animals in Menageries*, (98), 1838.

NH *On the Natural History and Classification of Fishes, Amphibians, and Reptiles*, I (109), 1838; II (116), 1839.

NH *On the Habits and Instincts of Animals*, (120), 1840.

NH *A Treatise on Malacology, or Shells and Shell-Fish*, (123), 1840.

NH *On the History and Natural Arrangement of Insects* (with Shuckard), (129), 1840.

NH *Taxidermy: Bibliography, and Biography*, (126), 1840.

THIRLWALL, CONNOP* (1797-1875)

H *The History of Greece*, I (68), 1835; II (74), 1836; III (80), 1836; IV (88), 1837; V (103), 1838; VI (114), 1839; VII (125), 1840; VIII (132), 1844.

WALKER, CHARLES V. (1812-1882)

NP *A Manual of Electricity, Magnetism, and Meteorology* (ed. and comp. Lardner's MS), I (130), 1841; II (131), 1844.

WALLACE, WILLIAM

H *England*, IV (62); V (69), 1835; VI (81), 1836; VII (95), 1837 (IV-VII anon.); VIII (104), 1838; IX (113), 1839 (ed. and cont. Mackintosh's MS; see also Bell).

WILSON, JOHN

- H *The History of Switzerland*, (31), 1832; (not the John Wilson or "Christopher North" of *Blackwood's*; ascription found only in Halkett and Laing, where Wheatley is given as the authority).

AUTHOR UNIDENTIFIED

- G *The Cities and Principal Towns of the World*, I (7), 1830 (no further volumes).

For unidentified parts of books see under Courtenay, Mackintosh, Montgomery, and Shelley.

The Making of the *Short-Title Catalogue, 1641-1700*

By DONALD G. WING*

I HAD thought of two possible sub-titles to this paper, one on "the length of a short-title catalogue" and the other, simply "a million slips." The almost inevitable misinterpretation of the word "slips" seemed too risky as a drawing-card to this meeting. Errors there are but, I am sure, not that many. The length of the work is the one factor which seems to interest everyone. Let us begin by agreeing that only a fool would undertake such a project. But he has to be a particularly persevering fool to finish. I don't feel that much time has gone by since I began in 1933, partly because it has, except for one year, been an extra with evenings and week-ends only available. But also at Yale I am surrounded by other fools even more persevering, when we consider the programs of the Walpole and Boswell factories. Their slips will run into the millions but, again, they are each groups of scholars. It may be that I am here today because I am not a group. You will remember the roster of names on the title-page of the first S.T.C. Some had died and their places were taken by others with different ideas and methods; the Bodleian entries all too frequently showing the change, with the same book appearing in more than one place. While I have had lots of help—good, bad, and worse—there can be no other editor to blame.

I should like today to tell you something of the kinds of help I have had and also some of the pitfalls to be avoided by anyone

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 26, 1951.

rash enough to contemplate a continuation of my continuation. My help has come very largely from this country, and from many members of this society. Except for private collectors my friends in England have been quite naturally unable to offer much in either time or labor. I remember with horror a fat letter from the Librarian of the National Library of Scotland who, in all kindness, enclosed a list of their holdings, giving only the Aldis numbers. These were all additions to the printed book, acquired since its publication. This list of Scottish printed books is arranged chronologically, so that before using the new information I had to look up each number in the bibliography, make slips, alphabetize them and compare with my manuscript. It seemed quicker to go back to Edinburgh.

I spoke of private collectors, and they are several different kinds of headaches—as many kinds as you have collectors. In England, thanks to letters from Dr. Harvey Cushing and Dr. John Fulton, I was able to list the private libraries of Sir D'Arcy Power and Geoffrey Keynes. I have since learned that Baron Keynes had a much larger seventeenth-century library than his brother. This is now in King's College, Cambridge, but his former Librarian has not been able to give me a list for even the third volume. I comfort myself with the thought that had I failed to note anything in the collection I should certainly have heard of it promptly. Two other English collectors opened wide their bookcases: Arnold Muirhead, then a schoolmaster and now associated with Peter Murray Hill; and F. S. Ferguson, then of Quaritch's, who collects Scottish imprints. After a fine Sunday dinner we got to work, lasting through a fine tea and a fine supper until I had to run for the last subway back to town. One other enthusiastic Englishman must be mentioned, John Johnson, long printer to Oxford University. We spent several Sunday mornings together in his most extraordinary collection of examples of job printing. It was difficult to keep my eyes away

from his luscious labels from tomato cans to concentrate on tiny scraps printed on the frozen Thames and book prospectuses.

In America I had in New Haven the two outstanding medical collections for the later seventeenth century—Cushing and Fulton—both now at Yale. Dr. Cushing also asked me to be on the lookout, in England, for books he lacked, which gave me a wonderful excuse to browse in many book-shops. One Connecticut collector gave me notes of the books in his library. Trying to save private owners from unnecessary correspondence, I gave private locations only when there were less than five public copies located. The collector, I am afraid, felt that his copies were neglected. However, in the second volume he was credited with a rare volume. A letter to him from an Australian scholar asking for a transcript of the title-page went unanswered. I was challenged and had to have the book brought to New Haven. How does one please collectors, I ask you?

Another scholar wrote about locating Miltons in the Middle West before the second volume had appeared. I told him the nearest to him were at Urbana, Illinois. He went there and was turned away. Again I was challenged. The books were there all right, but the Reference Department had not been told what was in the English Department's office.

How I came to start work on the book is briefly told in the Preface to Volume One, but I seldom find evidence of that having been read. In 1933 when Yale had been in its new library building for three years, a last attempt to recover all books at Yale in 1742 was to be made. The manuscript catalogue was more complete than the printed version of the following year, but there were still too many unidentified entries like "Smith's Sermons in Quarto" and "a dirty Old Testament." Random searches in the stacks had turned up over a thousand volumes (of the 2600), but a systematic trip through the card catalogue was desirable. We had also just acquired Falconer Madan's library

of Oxford books, and, while his printed catalogue came through 1680, he had collected avidly for the next twenty years. And there were no bibliographical tools to aid in their cataloguing. These two very different crises crystallized into the S.T.C. continuation, but permission was still needed to read the card catalogue. Mr. Keogh, then Librarian, agreed that I might do it in library time, while assigned to a public Reference Librarian desk, if I could think of two more reasons for the project. I suggested listing Connecticut imprints before 1851 (later used by the W.P.A.) and also following up all temporary cards in the catalogue which were ten years old or older. (That, I may remark in passing, is a sure-fire way to alienate the affections of the maturer cataloguers.) In the case of the missing 1742 Library books the majority were religious, so I put the catalogue of the new McAlpin Collection at Union Theological Seminary on slips. And so began my evening, week-end labors. McAlpin was followed by Trinity College, Dublin; the Inns of Court; Advocates; John Carter Brown; Dr. Williams' Library in London; Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books; Madan; the beginning of Evans, and more than a dozen author bibliographies.

By 1935, when I applied for a Guggenheim grant to search British libraries, I had twenty-five shoeboxes full of slips. When I came back to America I had the present fifty-one. Evenings in England were frequently spent making the cross-references from anonymous works and initials to the final headings. This I had purposely delayed to keep the bulk of the manuscript down.

My first job in England was handling the 26,000 Thomason tracts (which by their size alone had stopped the parent volume with 1640). The temporary North Library of the British Museum agreed to a modified form of endless chain delivery, whereby I received twenty volumes an hour, each with about twenty tracts. When I got ahead of this schedule—as I did each day—I read the British Museum catalogue, sending for all volumes not previously seen elsewhere. By the time I moved on to Oxford

seven months later, and to Cambridge, three more months later, I had fewer and fewer titles to examine. At each of the universities I was able to include two college libraries—at Oxford getting locked into Magdalen and Balliol, and at Cambridge listing Magdalene and Trinity. I had difficulty with the last, since its hours were even shorter than the University Library, but when it was remembered that I was a member of the College I was allowed to take the catalogue to my hotel, a tray at a time. What American library would do as much? (In fairness I must record that the University of Texas library loaned me their Rare Book Room card catalogue for a month, and Rutgers and Cincinnati copied their cards for me.) Christmas vacation allowed me to do Scottish libraries, and in the spring I visited a few libraries in Holland and France.

Most American libraries which are included have checked my galleys with their holdings, the most scholarly work being done at the largest collections, Huntington and Harvard. At Columbia we worked out a coöperative exchange that was mutually beneficial. When it was decided that I was to be printed at the Columbia University Press, their officers asked how well Columbia was represented. Well, it wasn't. The Plimpton collection was new and unlisted, I believe, and the Seligman tracts were old but only partly owned and arranged chronologically in two places. It was finally agreed that I should list all uncatalogued material (and this was a lever used to acquire the rest of Seligman) while the Library staff would check my galleys against the card catalogue. Obviously I could have gone on checking new collections forever, but that is no way to be useful. The first S.T.C. thought they had omitted less than ten per cent and I hope I have done as well. There is one kind of material consciously avoided in my list, and that is periodical publications. Almanacs are included, but I have always thought the countless news sheets, especially those beginning with the word *Mercurius*, will need a separate volume—and a different editor. Titles were copied and even

stolen, and a proper job can only be done by giving collations and, possibly, even catch-words. This will interest fewer purchasers and appeals to me not at all.

It may be of interest to describe just what was put on each slip. Author, if on the title-page; enough title to distinguish this particular title from any other, keeping the first few words sacred; place, by, for, to be sold by, and date. So much is elementary and all was published except the place "London," which was assumed. Then comes size, and here I followed the gatherings of the book. Only a few times was it necessary to expand into "12° in sixes," etc. Term Catalogue reference if found. Some people have been unhappy because I have called all single sheets "bds." whether printed on one side or two. A clue as to which it is can usually be found, because if printed on two sides the imprint ordinarily appears as a colophon and follows the abbreviation "colop." In tracts without title-pages but dropped headings, again the imprint usually appears as a colophon and the notation "cap. title" for caption-title precedes the size symbol. Size is followed by references to a few standard bibliographies, such as Evans, Madan, Steele on royal proclamations, etc., and, finally, symbols of location. Here a perfect score for a perfectly common book would be British Museum, Oxford, Cambridge, one in Scotland, and one in Ireland. So much for Great Britain. For America, one in California, one in the Mid-West, Library of Congress or nearby, Texas, New England.

There is certain other information set down on the manuscript slips which was not considered suitable for printing. Some of this is incomplete, some irregular, some relating only to individual copies, but it seemed wise with the copy in hand to put it down somewhere. This includes the purchaser if known of copies sold at auction together with the prices fetched. (This is usually of more advantage to me as Order Librarian than as Bibliographer.) The fact that the title-page is in black and red, or that the text is wholly or largely in black-letter also appears only

in my manuscript. The pagination is given, if under fifty pages, but this is translated into the printed version by an asterisk. Only in manuscript are other attributed authors, with their sources, whether Halkett and Laing, the DNB or a manuscript notation on an individual copy; and, finally, references to other bibliographies, such as the Grolier Club's *Wither to Prior*, Smith's Quaker lists, county bibliographies, papers of the various bibliographical societies, the *TLS*, *Notes and Queries*, and certain subject bibliographies such as those on engravings, herbals, tobacco, poetical miscellanies, tales and romances, character books, fencing, and fishing. Usually with author bibliographies I have given the reference in the printed book.

The hardest part of the book to write was, as is so often the case, the preface. It was also the hardest to proofread. There I had the help of three friends, all of whom passed the page proof as correct. But by great good fortune one of these friends had a friend who picked up a page and almost immediately found two horrible mistakes just in time. For some reason, instead of saying "i.e." I had written out "id est," and the compositor, with considerable pains inserted a period after each word. The other mistake was one of type-founts. I requested permission to quote this passage from the late D. B. Updike's *Printing Types*, as it seemed to me exactly what I wanted to say. ". . . now that my task is finished, I realize that further emendations could be continued with profit almost indefinitely. But while such a book can never, in any strict sense, be complete, it must be completed, though even the measure of perfection hoped for may not have been reached. It has been written in town and in country, amid the interruptions of business and in intervals of leisure—and 'in time of war and tumults' that at moments made its subject, and all like subjects, seem trivial and valueless." The miserable compositor had contrived to use an entirely new type for Mr. Updike's middle initial. I can think of no place where I should less like to make that kind of error. If a preface is hard to write, there

is a wonderful compensation when volumes two and three come along. I only wanted to say "Reread the preface in Volume One."

I should like here and now to disclaim any responsibility or even knowledge of the caption-letters at the head of each page. They were not on any page proof I ever saw. The idea of guiding users more quickly to the wanted page is usually excellent, but here, by limiting them to the first three letters, the result is forty-nine pages (nearly a hundred columns) reading Cha-Cha, when it would have been just as easy and brief to have said Charles I, Charles II; and eight pages of Chu-Chu for both the Churches of England and Scotland. Except for these blemishes, I have nothing but praise for Mr. Loos and his printers. I hope he believes I am improving. On Volume One I had five sets of galleys and one of page proof. For Volume Two, two galleys and one of page proof, and for Volume Three only one of each. I was also very fortunate to be in at the birth of the Index Society, my publishers.

Several interesting observations may be made from the results thus far. A most peculiar geographical idiosyncrasy turns up regarding Oxford and Cambridge. Oxford, it appears, has a better collection of books printed in Scotland than its more northerly sister; while Cambridge, though further away, with its Bradshaw Collection is far stronger in Irish materials. When I visited the Union Catalogue in Philadelphia for books in that general locality I was shocked to find no seventeenth-century editions of any of William Penn's works. In fact, it seems as though Harvard and Yale both had as good early Quaker collections as are to be found anywhere. I also believe it is safe to say that since the publication of Woodward and McManaway's *Check-list of English Plays, 1641-1700*, in 1945, there are more of these plays in this country than in England.

One of the most intense pains of my searching relates to broadsides. At the Bodleian there is a huge volume of the catalogue so called. As I opened it, however, my heart sank. Page after page

and entry after entry had the truthful if infuriating notation "no place, no date." It meant handling every one and trying to justify an approximate date by means of types and printers' names—when they existed. A trick I learned early in my stay at the British Museum was to look at everything in a bound collection when it came to hand, rather than run the chance of needing it again for another pamphlet bound with the first. All too often this is a procedure omitted by cataloguers, for many times I have seen titles which did not occur in the Library's catalogue. Sometimes several pieces belong together: they may be called for on the title-page or they may have continuous signature or pagination. Only when none of these was true did I list the succeeding titles. This examination may be less valuable for later periods. I only know that very often all the pieces in a bound collection were all printed within a five-year period. If nine of ten are dated then you have good reason to suspect that the tenth is a contemporary.

We come now to the final section of this paper. The rest is intended for that single crazy member of the audience who is still toying with the idea of continuing beyond 1700. Until when? The answer to that question is entirely answered by the counter question: How many volumes do you propose to compile? Had I been more modest—not to say wiser—I might have done a single volume from 1641-1660, but that is so largely covered by the Thomason Catalogue that I even considered limiting it to books and tracts *not in* Thomason. But the year 1660 is not sacred to any but a king hater or a student of Restoration drama—and there is good sense in completing a century. Something died with Dryden, and the following decades have always been less sympathetic to me. The quantity of anonymous tracts continues after 1700 at much the same high rate, and I suggest to my follower the common sense of putting them all under Daniel Defoe. If we keep adding twenty or thirty a year to his *corpus*, wouldn't it be time-saving to admit now that probably he wrote them all?

A start was made on a continuation by James Tobin, then of

Fordham University. He used to bring a class to New Haven every Friday and make notes from all our chronologically arranged files. But the end date started to shrink; from 1750 to 1735 to 1730 and finally, I believe, to 1725. Without having made any experimental soundings myself, I should think 1750 the next stopping place; to be followed by the final S.T.C. to 1800. After that another notation might properly be evolved, or, what would please me much more, a return to the sixteenth century on the European continent. It all needs doing, and I testify that, granted the proper degree of insanity and a temperament which does not set one dreaming of falling boxes of slips, it is *fun*. It is difficult for me to say what kind of temperament could think it fun, but I have two clues. In the first place I enjoyed being a Reference Librarian for ten years, and that means constant interruption, and variety. It precludes pondering anything. Reader A wants statistics; Reader B wants a trot for his Spanish course but won't say why; Reader C wants to illustrate his new book on metallurgy among the Incas; Reader D wants the sub-plots in Shakespeare in a thousand words—and, what is worse, they are always in a hurry. My second clue goes back to my childhood, and my movie period.

Sometime about the age of ten I started a notebook alphabetically arranged by actors and actresses of all their movie parts. The first notebook was soon filled, thanks to regular purchases of at least three monthly magazines. It was simple to get a larger notebook and fun to copy it all over leaving room for additions—for at least six months. This complete recopying went on at least four more times until either I began to grow up or went to college or rightly or wrongly thought myself too busy. It was fun, and so is an S.T.C.

One of the silliest questions I have been asked since the publication of the second volume is, "When are you going to begin Volume Three?" It is all one alphabet, so obviously it was all equally finished before any of it got printed. The difference is in the checking of galley-sheets for American locations. This has

been done in three installments, and is now completed. I am now awaiting page proof from P-Z. Then there will be a question whether or not supplements will be necessary. In the five years since the first volume was published eleven additions have been reported, nine of which are now at Yale. These were largely intermediate editions where I had located, say, the first, second, and fourth editions. Now a third comes along. It is no surprise; it only means that it was not present in the 180-odd libraries searched. More of these will doubtless turn up when the English cathedral libraries are listed, but I expect few entirely new titles. I had heard that Lambeth Palace acted as a deposit for books refused licenses by the censor, but two weeks' search failed to turn up anything new. A supplement may be useful for noting copies now in this country, previously found only in Great Britain. I shouldn't dare print such a list today because it would be a long, long string of Y's. Nor should I dare to ask libraries to recheck and submit their additions. The first job is to produce Volume Three and then let any supplement wait for a demand.

I am not interested in the next half-century myself. I prefer to keep the new four-letter adjective pure. When booksellers offer Wing-period books I don't want to wonder which period.

Bibliographical Notes

A Previously Undescribed Horace

Despite the publication of two detailed special listings devoted to the editions of Horace,¹ a previously unknown edition of his *Sermones* has recently come to light and has been acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Library (Accession number 41324). A bibliographical description of this volume, in the form recommended by the writer, would read:

Horatius Flaccus, Quintus.

Sermones. Paris: Gui Marchand, 23 June 1492.

4°. 54 leaves. a-f⁸ g⁶. 20-21 lines. Type-page (f. 5, 20 lines of verse): 156 x 75 mm. (longest line). Types: 1*: 74 (76) G (leaded to 156 mm. M⁴⁹ with admixture of M³⁸. Used for text); 2: 107G (heading on a1). Guide-letters.

f. 1: Quinti horacii flacci sermonum || liber primus || Satyra prima || (q³) Ui fit mæcenas: vt nemo quā sibi sorte² || . . . 9-b1: Inuidia atq³ vident vbi crimina pro bene sano || . . . (ends 54^v-g6^v, l. 13): Canidia aflasset peior serpentibus aphris. || (colophon) EXPLICIT QUINTI HORATII. || Impressum parisii per Guydonem mercatoris || in domo campo gaillardii. āno 1492. die 23. mensis || Junii. ¶ || ¶ Finis ¶ || ¶ ||

The printed date demonstrates the ingenuity of the printer. Not having Arabic numerals, Marchand made use of characters which somewhat resembled these figures: for 1, he used i; for 2, his gothic r; for 3, the *ed*-contraction (= final m); for 4, a filed down f-ligature or t-ligature; and for 9, his *con*-contraction.

The only copy recorded is in the Pierpont Morgan Library (*Check List* no. 1434A). It measures 203 x 136 mm. and is bound in modern three-quarter vellum. The present copy, belonging to an edition designed to be used as a schoolbook, has numerous marginal and interlinear notes; most of these are of an interesting (if unscholarly) nature. For example, one finds in the third satire of the first book the following notes (among others): in line 15, the text prints: "Quamuis sacra queat" (MS correction of *sacra* to *crassa*); in line 33, the text reads: "ingenium ingem"

¹ *Quintus Horatius Flaccus. Editions in the United States and Canada as they appear in the Union Catalog of the Library of Congress* (Mills College, Calif., 1938); Ernest Kletsch, *Quintus Horatius Flaccus: Editions not located in the United States through the Union Catalog of the Library of Congress* (Washington, Mimeoform Service, 1937).

² By manuscript correction: *sortem*.

Ridetur fictis rerū balatrone: secundo
 Nasidiene rediis mutatæ frontis vt arte
 Emendaturus fortunam: deinde secuti
 Mazonomo pueri magno discrepta ferentes
 Membra gruis sparsi sale multo: non sine farre
 Pinguibus et ficis pastū iccur anseris albi.
 Et leporū auulsos vt multo suauius armos
 Quam si cum lumbis quis edit: tū pectore adusto
 Vidimus et merulas poni. et sine clune palumpeo
 Suauiores: si non causas narraret earum et
 Naturas dominus: quæ nos sic fugimus vltis:
 Ut nihil omnino gustaremus: velut illis
 Canidia aflasset peior serpentibus aphris.

EXPLICIT .QUINTI HORATII.

Impressum parisi per Guydonem mercatoris
 in domo campo gaillardi. āno 1472. die 23. mensis
 Junii.

~ finis ~

(MS correction to *ingenium ingens*); opposite lines 29-32 a manuscript note calls attention to the fact that the scholiasts believed these lines to be a description of Virgil (or Horace himself). Other manuscript scribbles are of no interest. Obtained in January, 1950.

CURT F. BÜHLER

*Press Figures and Book Reviews as Determinants of Priority:
A Study of Home's "Douglas" (1757) and Cumberland's
"The Brothers" (1770)*

I

Among the kinds of evidence long neglected by bibliographers but now considered to be of especial significance in the study of eighteenth-century books are press figures and periodical citations.¹ Though either method of analysis will be sufficient for some determinations, others may require the use of both as complementary techniques, with the first employed to discover the problem through the disclosure and differentiation of variants in works regarded as single entities, and the second then engaged to resolve it by ordering these variants in their proper sequence.

A typical example of such a problem is John Home's *Douglas* (8° A⁴ B-E⁸ F⁴), a play which excited much controversy of a sectarian nature in its time and is now the subject of some disputation regarding editorial matters.² To this latter discussion I now wish to contribute the indisputable fact that, whatever the status of the London and Edinburgh issues, and whether or not Home superintended the production of one, or the other, or both, the English publication consists not of one but of two distinct editions. It is not surprising that these should have escaped detection until now, for they are so similar in appearance as to be almost indistinguishable. With a record of the figures, however, the more common edition may be easily recognized as:

A 16-1 18-6 41-5 46-7 52-2 66-8

and the exceedingly rare variant,³ of an entirely different setting, as:

¹ For a comprehensive account of these several aids to bibliographical investigation see my "Observations on the Incidence and Interpretation of Press Figures," in: *Studies in Bibliography*, III: 171-205 (1950), and my address before the 1950 session of the English Institute, to be published in the fourth volume of the same journal.

² Cf. the references listed in *CBEL*, II: 470-71.

³ I have seen 12 copies of the A edition—those at DCL, ICN (4), ICU, IEN, NjP, NN (4)—but only one of B, the copy at PPL.

B 10-1 24-8 41-2 42-1 56-5

The differences in the text of the two editions, like those in their appearance, are so few in number and so trivial that any attempt to establish a priority on eclectic grounds soon reaches an impasse. In the 71 pages to this play there are some 15 alterations, all in spelling and punctuation, and every one attributable to the compositor of the reprint. Representative examples of the trivia available for analysis would include this:

A Farewel a while

B Farewell awhile (1.4)

and this:

A Assail me not Lord, Randolph

B Assail me not Lord Randolph (63.10)

Since neither reading is correctly punctuated in the latter citation, the order of readings is conjectural. Is *A* the second edition and its compositor (or corrector) a fastidious grammarian who notes the required pointing in *B* but accidentally misplaces it? Or is *B* the second and its compositor one who knows enough to remove the misplaced point in *A*, but not enough to point his own copy? No one can say. Nor can anyone declare whether the following represents the earlier version of Glenalvon's soliloquy:

Darkly a project peers upon my mind,

Like the red moon when rising in the east,

Cross'd and divided by strange-colour'd clouds.

I'll seek the slave who came with Norval hither . . . (21.27-22.2)

So *A*, in which the third line immediately modifies "moon" in the second. In *B*, on the other hand, the punctuation in the second and third lines is transposed so that the third line now modifies "I" in the fourth. Of the two, apparently *A* represents the preferable reading, at least in this case, but is it the first? So long as collation is limited to the texts of the editions nothing can be decided, for customary editorial practice prohibits the certification of either edition as the first when both include indiscriminate mixtures of correct and incorrect accidentals.

This impasse is easily circumvented, however, if we resort to the reviews in the literary magazines. After its publication on March 19, 1757, *Douglas* was reviewed within two weeks in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Critical Review*, and *London Magazine*, and by Oliver Goldsmith in the May issue of the *Monthly Review*.⁴ Of these four accounts, the first pre-

⁴ *GM*, XXVII: 124-27 (March, 1757); *CR*, III: 258-68 (March, 1757); *LM*, XXVI: 109-12 (March, 1757); *MR*, XVI: 426-29 (May, 1757).

sents, aside from the Prologue and Epilogue, only a synopsis; the second abstracts 126 lines from sections where there is not even a point of difference between the two editions; and the fourth may be regarded, if we wish, as too late to be conclusive.⁵ This leaves the *London Magazine*, which quotes 81 lines altogether. In only four of these are there any differences between *A* and *B*, and these only in punctuation.

	<i>LM</i> and <i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
21.28	east,	east.
22.1	clouds.	clouds,
48.19	dowry,	dowry:
69.11	eyes	eyes,

Since the copy for review must have reached the editor of the *London Magazine* not later than one week after publication in order to be reprinted by the end of the month, and since the abstract always agrees with the readings in *A*, the relationship among the three texts is fixed as

LM—A
 |
 B
 and *A* is therefore established as the first edition. Thus for *Douglas*,

and probably for many other problems of a similar nature, evidence extraneous to the editions provides the only certain means for determining their precedence.

II

Cumberland's *The Brothers* presents another problem, of greater complexity than the first, but as easily resolved by the means proposed. Where the preceding study concerned two indiscriminated editions, each of a separate setting, this involves no less than three: "A" with a printed title-page, "B" partially reset and reimpressed from "A," but with an engraved title, and "C," also with the engraved title, but of an entirely different setting. A description follows.

"A" Edition December 8, 1769 (*Daily Advertiser*)

THE | BROTHERS: | A | COMEDY. | As it is performed at the | THEATRE
 ROYAL | IN | COVENT-GARDEN. | [rule] | Nam ni dixerint ea, quae adolef-
 centuli | Pro bent, foli in theatris relinquentur. | [Oxford rule] | LONDON: |
 Printed for W. GRIFFIN, at Garrick's Head, in | Catharine-ftreet, Strand, 1770. |
 [Price 1s. 6d.]

8°, A⁴ B-K⁴. Pp. [i-iii] iv-v [vi-viii] [1] 2-72.

Press figures: [iii]-1 (*occasionally missing*), 8-1, 10-1, 20-2, 29-3, 39-2, 46-3, 55-2, 60-3, 69-2.

Copies: CtY, DFO (3), ICU, NcD (2), NcU, NN.

⁵ As it happens, the two editions also agree, comma by comma, with the *MR* citations.

"B" Edition

[engraved title] THE | BROTHERS, | A | COMEDY. | As it is Performed | AT THE | THEATRE-ROYAL | IN | COVENT-GARDEN. | [oval vignette of a ship in a storm, signed "A. Alcock inv. del. Ifs Taylor sculp."] | LONDON: | Printed for W. GRIFFIN, at GARRICK'S HEAD, | in Catherine Street Strand. | MD-CCLXX. | P. 1.^s 6.^d.

Collation as for "A".

Press figures: [iii]-3, 6-1, 14-1, 24-2, 31-1, 40-1, 46-1, 54-3, 62-3, 70-3.

Page substituted, [i]; pages reimpressed, [iii-vii], 41-48, 65-67; pages reset, [viii] [1] 2-40, 49-64, 68-72.

Copies: DFO, NNC.

"C" Edition

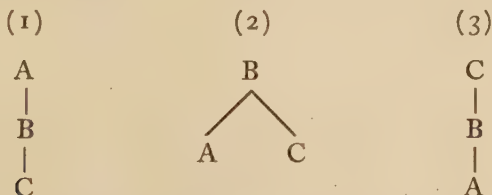
Description and collation as for "B".

Press figures: 15-2, 29-2, 64-2.

Edition reset from copytext "B".

Copies: DFO, ICN (2), NNC.

Whether or not the sequence of editions corresponds to this alphabetical arrangement, collation establishes "B" as an intermediate text, sharing some readings (and for certain pages, a common setting) with "A," others with "C." The relation of the three texts therefore conforms to one of these three stemma:



As the readings differ with few exceptions only in punctuation, collation alone fails to identify the particular stemma that represents the actual order of editions. Thus each in turn may be defended on the assumption (1) that the title-plate was unavailable for the original publication "A," but furnished shortly thereafter for "B," and used again at some later date for the reset "C"; or (2), that it was available for a first edition "B," but used in only one of the later editions "A" "C," since both were produced simultaneously to meet an unexpected demand for copies; or, (3), that it was used successively, first for "C," and then for "B," but afterwards broken, lost, or otherwise rendered unavailable for "A." These are the assumptions: what are the facts?

The way out of our dilemma is the one we have taken before, through recourse to the literary magazines. Within a month after its publication

The Brothers was extensively reviewed in four journals, two of which, the *London Magazine* and the *Critical Review*⁶ offer excerpts subject to collation against the variant texts.⁷

50, 10	is sure	LM, A, B	69, 23	Belfield;	CR, A, B
	is, sure	C		Belfield,	C
51, 5	me.	A	69, 28	behaviour;	CR, A
	me?	B		behaviour?	B, C
	me!	LM, C	70, 4	marrying,	CR, A, B
51, 11	Sir!	LM, A, B		marrying;	C
	Sir.	C	70, 5	indiscretion	A
51, 18	uproar,	LM, A, B		indiscretion,	CR, B, C
	uproar;	C	70, 10	relating it;	CR, A
51, 23	will have	LM, A, B		relating it:	B, C
	will, have	C	70, 11	renounce,	CR, A
51, 32	and as	LM, A, B		renounce;	B, C
	and, as	C	70, 14	Sir,	CR, A, B
52, 10	Benjamin,	LM, A		Sir;	C
	Benjamin;	B, C	70, 14	forging,	A
52, 10	up and	LM, A		forging;	CR, B, C
	up, and	B, C	70, 15	near,	CR, A
52, 21	yourself—	LM, A, B		near;	B, C
	yourself.—	C	70, 18	witness, that	A
				witness that	CR, B, C
			70, 19	dispute:	CR, A, B
				dispute;	C

Altogether the journals reprint some twenty readings in which there is a discrepancy among the editions. Of these 10 are common to A-B, 6 to A alone, 3 to B-C, 1 to C, and none to B. Except for the occasional agreements between the journals and B-C or C, all of which may be discounted as accidental concurrence, the distribution apparently justifies the conclusion that A was the text used for the reviews and thus the first edition of the three. With this established, stemma (1) is identified as the proper representation of the chronological relation of A to B and C.

WILLIAM B. TODD

⁶ *London Magazine*, 38: 599-602, 640-41, 644-45 (1769); *Critical Review*, 28: 443-47 (1769). Also reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Monthly Review*.

⁷ Fortunately, the citations are from pages of a different setting in each of the editions ABC, and not from those of a setting common to AB. Hence, in the present case, all three are distinguished by their readings and ordered, through reference to the journals, in the relation signified by stemma 1. In the other event, however, two of the editions would remain undistinguished and their priority therefore ambiguously disclosed as 1 or 2.

Two Issues of Cowley's "Vision"

A Vision, concerning the late pretended Highness, Cromwell the Wicked: . . . (London, 1661), published anonymously, is a work universally attributed to Abraham Cowley in bibliographies. It is a political satire, in prose and verse, written as a vision which the author had in a dream. It depicts Oliver Cromwell, who appeared in the vision in the form of a giant representing the Protector, as a tyrant and wicked ruler.

An earlier issue is not so generally mentioned under Cowley's name; its title: THE | VISIONS | AND | PROPHECIES | Concerning | ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, | And | IRELAND, | Of | Ezekiel Grebner, *Son of Obadiah Grebner, | Son of Paul Grebner, who presented the fa- | mous Book of Prophecies to Queen | Elisabeth.* | [line] | Ezekiel 2. | [7-line quotation] | [line] | London, Printed for *Henry Herringman*, and | are to be sold at his Shop, at the sign of the | *Anchor*, in the lower walk in the New *Exchange*. 1661. [i.e., 1660] 12 mo. It was entered in the Stationers' Register,¹ 29 October 1660, as "by A. Cowley"; and a copy was received by Thomason² in November, 1660.

Collation: [x], 82 p. Sig: unsigned¹, A-C¹², D¹⁰ (D 10 a blank). Title, recto of unsigned leaf; verso blank; ADVERTISEMENT | Concerning the | BOOK and AUTHOR. |, A1^r-A4^r; *Both the Book and this | Preface were written in | the time of the late little | Protector RICHARD.* |, A4 verso; text, p. 1-82 (A5^r-D9^v); 1 blank leaf. The "Advertisement" begins: "Paul Grebner came out of Germany in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and presented to her a Book of Prophecies, which she gave to Dr. Nevill Dean of her Chapel, and he to Trinity College in Cambridge, . . . where it remains still in the Library," and continues with an account of his descendants Obadiah and Ezekiel; the latter "died at Strasburg last October. He left all his papers with a Dutch Gentleman called Conrart Sluys." Among the papers were "three books of Visions and Prophecies concerning the affairs of our three Nations; The first (which is but as it were a Preface to the other) is that which is here published; The second contains a Discourse with the Angel Guardian of England, . . . The third denounces heavy judgements against the three Kingdoms [England, Ireland, Scotland]. . . . Thus I am told by the Gentleman who gave me

¹ *Stationers' Register*, 1640-1708, II: 281 (London, Privately published, 1913-1914).

² *Catalogue of the Pamphlets . . . Collected by George Thomason*, II: 349 (London, British Museum, 1908).

A
VISION,

Concerning his late Pretended

HIGHNESSE

Cromwell, the Wicked ;

Containing a Discourse in Vin-
dication of him by a pretended Angel,
and the Confutation thereof by
the Author.

Virgil.

~~————~~ *Sua cuiq̃, Deus fit dira Libido.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Herringman* at the
Anchor in the lower walk in the New
Exchange. 1661.

T H E
V I S I O N S
A N D
P R O P H E C I E S

Concerning
E N G L A N D , S C O T L A N D ,
And
I R E L A N D ,

Of
Ezekiel Grebner , *Son of Obadiah Grebner,
Son of Paul Grebner , who presented the fa-
mous Book of Prophecies to Queen*
E L I S A B E T H .

Ezekiel 2.

4. *For they are impudent Children, and stiff-hearted ; I
do send thee unto them , and thou shalt say unto
them, Thus saith the Lord God.*
5. *And they, whether they will hear, or whether they
will forbear (for they are a Rebellious House)
yet shall know that there has been a Prophet among
them.*

*London, Printed for Henry Herringman, and
are to be sold at his Shop, at the sign of the
Anchor, in the lower walk in the New Ex-
change. 1661.*

this first book, and who had read the other two. This was left in his hands accidentally, the other two were carried, as we believe, into Italy by Mr. Conrart Sluys, . . ."

The Huntington Library has the Huth copy of *The Visions*, entered in his sale catalogue (no. 3328) under Grebner, Ezekiel. This is the usual entry found in catalogues. Wing,³ C 6696, has it under Cowley. Loiseau⁴ quotes this title, and prints the "Advertisement" in full, with the comment, "Suit une préface qui ne manque pas d'intérêt; nous nous trouvons là en présence, évidemment, de la forme primitive sous laquelle Cowley se proposait de publier son pamphlet, l'enveloppant d'une fiction compliquée." Loiseau⁵ has further comments on the pamphlet, which he believed had not hitherto been described: "Cowley peut donc l'avoir composé soit à la fin de son séjour en Angleterre, soit au début de son second séjour en France. Il était primitivement destiné à faire figure de pamphlet royaliste, et Cowley devait s'y cacher derrière le nom Grebner." Nethercote⁶ also notes the title, and comments "Loiseau considers it . . . to be an earlier form of the *Vision*, showing Cowley's intention of once becoming a pamphleteer in the Royal cause."

The reissue has the title: A | VISION, | Concerning his late Pretended | HIGHNESSE | *Cromwell*, the Wicked; | containing a Discourfe in Vin- | dication of him by a pretended Angel, | and the Confutation thereof by | the Author. | [line] | Virgil. | [quotation, 1 line] | [line] | LON- DON, | Printed for *Henry Herringman* at the | *Anchor* in the lower walk in the New | Exchange. 1661. Collation: [vii], 82 p. Sig: A-C¹², D¹¹ (D10-11 blanks). Quite likely as originally issued there were three blanks: D10-12. The title-page and A1-4 of *The Visions* were cancelled, and replaced by a new title and a new "Advertisement" printed on an octavo half-sheet; the sewing after A2, and the stubs of A1-4 of *The Visions* occur preceding A5. Title, A1^r; verso blank; ADVERTISEMENT, A2^r-[A4]^r; blank, [A4]^v; text, p. 1-82 (A5^r-D9^v), the same setting of type as in *The Visions*; 2 blank leaves. The "Advertisement" is adopted to new conditions (the restoration of Charles II in December, 1660) to show his

³ Donald Goddard Wing, *Short-title Catalogue of Books printed in England . . . 1641-1700*, I: 390 (New York, Index Society, 1945).

⁴ Loiseau, Jean, *Abraham Cowley* (Paris, Henry Didier, 1931), pp. 652-654.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

⁶ Arthur H. Nethercote, *Abraham Cowley* (London, Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 182.

loyalism, and has no mention of the Grebners; it begins, "This Discourse was written in the time of the late Protector Richard the Little [compare A4 verso in the first issue], and was but the first Book of Three that were designed by the Author. The second was to be a Discourse with the Guardian-Angel of England, . . . The third to denounce heavy Judgments against the three Kingdoms, . . . in the suddain Restoration of Reason, and Right, and Happinesse to us, it became not onely unnecessary, but unseasonable and impertinent to prosecute the work. However, it seem'd not so to the Author to publish this first Part, . . ." The Huntington Library has the Britwell copy (sale 22 March 1926, no. 112), bound in sheep, with binder's title: Grebner. Vision of Cromwell. 1661.

A Vision is reprinted in the *Harleian*⁷ *Miscellany*, and elsewhere, but with no reference to the earlier issue: *The Visions*. It was published in some of Cowley's *Works*,⁸ and *Essays*⁹ under title: *A Discourse by way of Vision, concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell*. Loiseau¹⁰ mentions an edition of 1668 with the title: *A Discourse . . .*, but I find no separate edition of that date. He may be referring to the 1668 edition of *Works* (London, by J. M. for Henry Herringman) which he mentions in his bibliography. Herringman published a second edition in 1669, and by 1700 the "ninth edition" had been published. From 1668 on, the *Vision* was published under the title of *A Discourse . . .*, and so cited. *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, v. I, p. 459, lists "*A Vision . . .* 1661 (also issued as *The Visions . . .*)"; "also" should properly read "previously."

H. R. MEAD

⁷ *Harleian Miscellany*, 12 v. (London, R. Dutton, 1808-1811), 1808-11, IX: 209-235; (London, J. White, J. Murray, and J. Harding, 1808-1813), 10 v., 1808-13, V: 524-545.

⁸ Cowley, *Works* (London, by J. M. for Henry Herringman, 1668), pp. 52-78 (final paging); *Works*, selected by Richard Hurd, 3 v. (London, John Sharpe, 1809), III: [45]-101; *Complete works*, edited by Alexander B. Grossart, 2 v. (Edinburgh, Printed for Private Circulation, 1881), II: [293]-308.

⁹ Cowley, *Essays, Plays, and Sundry Verses*, edited by A. R. Waller (Cambridge, University Press, 1906), pp. 342-376.

¹⁰ Loiseau, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

Another Attribution to Swift

Conveniently bound in the same volume at the New York Public Library are two issues of a tract which, together, reveal an unrecorded piece of Swiftiana and, in the production of this, one of the more ingenious among the many literary impostures of the time. Of the two exemplars, the only ones I have seen, the bibliographical facts are these:

First Issue Published in 1732

TASTE. | AN | *ESSAY.* | [rule] | [two-line quotation from Horace and two-line translation by the Earl of Roscommon] | [double rule] | [ornament] | [double rule] | *LONDON:* | Printed for W. SHROPSHIRE, over-against the | Duke of Grafton's in *New-Bond-Street*; and | Sold by T. ASTLEY, and J. CROWNFIELD | in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, E. NUTT at the | *Royal-Exchange*, A. DODD at *Temple-Bar*, and | J. CHRICHLEY at the *London-Gazettee*, | *Charing-Crofs*. MDCCXXXII. 8°, π₁ A⁴ B-G⁴ H². [i] title-page; [ii] errata; [iii-vi] The Bookseller to the Reader; [vii-ix] Contents; [x] blank; [1] 2-50 the Essay, in prose; 51 Advertisement; [52] blank.

Second Issue Published April 4, 1739 (*Daily Advertiser*)

TASTE. | AN | *ESSAY.* | [rule] | By J. S. D. S. P. | [rule] | The SECOND EDITION. | [rule] | [ornament] | [rule] | *DUBLIN* Printed: | *London* Reprinted, and fold by T. Cooper, at the | *Globe* in *Pater-noster-Row*; and A. Dodd, at | the *Peacock* without *Temple-Bar*. | MDCCXXXIX. 8°, π₁ (-π₁) A⁴ (-A_{1,2} + A_{1,2}) B-G⁴ H². [i] half-title; [iii] title-page; [v-vii] Contents; [viii] blank; [1] 2-51 [52] as for first issue.

The title-page of the second issue, as we shall observe, introduces two specious allegations, first, that the prior issue had been printed in Dublin, an assertion contradicted in the imprint of that issue, and secondly, that the later issue was the work of Jonathan Swift. Concerning this attribution, the *Scots Magazine* for April, 1739, remarked that by the initials J. S. D. S. P. "we must not always understand, Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, great names being too frequently used on very little occasions."

Had the editor of the *Magazine* a copy of both issues he need not have limited himself to innuendo but gone on to expose the fraud. As he may have noted, a comparison of the two indicates that the publishers of the "SECOND EDITION" reissued the unsold sheets of the earlier printing with a new half-title and title page and without the exposition from "The Bookseller to the Reader." In the original preface, prepared, apparently, by William Shropshire, the reader is informed that the materials for the

essay "were collected by the famous M. Rollin [Charles Rollin, the French historian], and do now appear in English dress." For the labor of translation the purveyor then acknowledges an indebtedness "to a Gentleman who has already presented the World with several valuable Books in our language, without wandering from the sense, or losing the spirit of the originals." Such observations as these could not, of course, refer to Swift; and when the time came, seven years later, to represent the work as his, the leaves in which they appeared (A1-2) were accordingly excised.

To carry out this imposture two booksellers were engaged, Mrs. Dodd, whose name appears in the imprint of both issues, and Thomas Cooper, who is designated only in the imprint of the second. How Cooper, a respectable agent, and later a City Marshal of London, could have become involved in such a business is not clear. But what Mrs. Dodd has done is exactly what we would expect of a woman habitually engaged in disreputable practices.

WILLIAM B. TODD

French Publications in Saint Louis

In an article entitled "Louis Richard Cortambert and the First French Newspapers in Saint Louis, 1809-1854," (PAPERS, XXXIV: 221-253, Third Quarter, 1940) I presented an account of attempts to publish a French journal in that city. Since then I have discovered two more items to be added to that record. They both precede Cortambert's arrival in Saint Louis.

On 7 July 1832 Francis H. Taylor published the first number of the *Shepherd of the Valley*, a weekly Catholic newspaper, printed in three columns on a small folio sheet, eleven by sixteen inches. One page of four was in French. No. 2 devoted one and one-half pages to French language material, no. 3 one and two-thirds pages, no. 4 one and one-half, and so on through no. 14. The fifteenth and sixteenth issues were entirely in English. No paper was issued on 27 October because the Sisters of Charity had taken over for a cholera hospital the building in which the printing office was located. No. 17 on 3 November showed a change of policy, for it was entirely in French, under the title *Le Pasteur de la Vallée*. English and French editions were now to alternate, but the plan was held to only for a few weeks: no. 18 was English, no. 19 French. The twentieth number (24 November) was once more principally in English, with nearly

one-half of its matter in French. The following issue carried four and one-half columns in French. That there was insufficient interest among French Catholics now becomes clear, for thereafter the paper was published entirely in English with merely an occasional notice or advertisement in French. The only extant files of this paper (those in the St. Louis University Library) close with no. 50 (22 June 1833).

The managers of the *Shepherd*, however, planned one more effort to establish a French Catholic periodical. A prospectus for *Le Missourite: Journal Ecclesiastique, Philosophique et Littéraire* was published in the *Shepherd of the Valley* on 30 March 1833. Its editorial policy was presented at length:

Dans un pays aussi étendu que l'Amérique où la Religion a à lutter contre tant d'obstacles et où elle est en butte aux plus noires calomnies, un des moyens les plus faciles de répandre l'instruction, de détruire les préjugés, et des plus efficaces pour défendre la Religion contre les attaques de ses ennemies, est sans doute celui des feuilles publiques. . . le REDACTEUR DU MISSOURITE croit faire plaisir aux Catholiques Français des Etats-Unis, en publiant un Journal où il donnera les preuves de la Religion et où il on fera voir les beautés, les avantages, et la nécessité de la pratiquer. Mais ce n'est pas là le seul but qu'il se propose. . . Le MISSOURITE consacrera une grand partie de ses pages à ces recherches et à ces détails puisés dans les sources les plus authentiques. . . Les discussions politiques seulement seront entièrement bannis. . .

The first number of this thirty-page, octavo monthly was to appear as soon as sufficient subscriptions (\$1 per year) had been received. Although the prospectus was dated 19 March, its first insertion was 30 March and was repeated in the next three issues (it was printed also in the Saint Louis *Free Press* on 11 April). In the file of the *Shepherd* for the next two months there is no further mention of *Le Missourite*. Since it is not listed in the *Union List of Serials* and no copies have been found locally, the probability is that it never progressed beyond prospectus stage.

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

The Edinburgh Dispensatories

The dispensatory, which is a pharmaceutical reference work based on a pharmacopoeial text or texts and which contains explanatory comment and other material,¹ was an "English specialty" of the 18th and 19th centuries.² In the United States the dispensatory was "much more in practical use than the pharmacopoeias themselves" until the last third of the 19th century.³ It is still a commonly used type of reference.⁴

Of the British dispensatories of a century and two ago, the two most prominent were those commonly referred to as the "London Dispensatory" and the "Edinburgh Dispensatory." In 1771, for example, the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* referred to these two as the "latest and most esteemed."⁵ In 1818 they were the only two dispensatories mentioned in a statement of the New York State Medical Society which listed the reference works in use "in the different sections and States of the Union."⁶ Undoubtedly both of these enjoyed a tremendous vogue, but it was the Edinburgh Dispensatory that later editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* singled out for special notice. Thus the second edition commented, rather redundantly, that "the latest and most esteemed are the Edinburgh and London dispensatories, and Dr. Lewis' dispensatory,"⁷ and later editions changed this to, "the latest and most esteemed, beside the London and Edinburgh Pharmacopoeias, is the Edinburgh New Dispensatory."⁸ Thus, also, the *Britannica* noted that

¹ For example, the third edition of the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory* (Edinburgh, William Creech, 1791) had three main parts: I. Pharmaceutical Chemistry, II. Materia Medica, III. Pharmaceutical Preparations from the Edinburgh, London, and foreign pharmacopoeias "interspersed with practical cautions and observations . . . enriched with the latest discoveries in natural history, chemistry and medicine."

² E. Kremers and G. Urdang, *History of Pharmacy* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1940), p. 267.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁴ In New York State and in New Jersey, and probably elsewhere, pharmacies are required by law to keep a U. S. Dispensatory, a U. S. Pharmacopoeia, and a National Formulary on the premises.

⁵ Vol. 2, p. 444 (Edinburgh, Bell and Macfarquhar, 1771). The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* repeated, practically word-for-word, the comment of *A New and Complete Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences* (London, Owen, 1763), Vol. 2, p. 950.

⁶ Quoted from Kremers and Urdang, p. 230.

⁷ Vol. 4 (Edinburgh, J. Balfour, 1779), p. 2488.

⁸ 3rd ed. (Edinburgh, Bell and Macfarquhar, 1797), Vol. 6, p. 50; 4th ed. (Edinburgh, A. Bell, 1810), Vol. 7, p. 260.

"Few works have had a more extensive circulation than the Edinburgh New Dispensatory. . . . Of this improved Dispensatory we need say little, the rapid sale of three large editions, and the call for a fourth, sufficiently evince the opinion which the public has formed of its utility and execution. It is perhaps the most complete guide to the practical apothecary which we have in any language."⁹ The *Britannica* was not an entirely disinterested critic,¹⁰ but the wide favor and distribution of the Edinburgh Dispensatories became evident to this writer when he attempted to identify a 60-page fragment of the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory* received at the Library of the Rutgers College of Pharmacy.¹¹

In 1753 William Lewis compiled the first edition of the *New Dispensatory*.¹² In the century that followed there appeared no less than thirty-five British, six American, and twelve foreign language (German,¹³ French,¹⁴ Dutch,¹⁵ Italian,¹⁶ Portuguese¹⁷) editions, printings, or issues of one kind or another, of the *New Dispensatory* and its progeny, the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*.¹⁸ These, since they were the work originally of "gentlemen of the faculty at Edinburgh"—in this case gentlemen of the teaching faculty—were usually referred to as the "Edinburgh Dispensatory."

⁹ 4th ed., Vol. 12, p. 687; 6th ed. (Edinburgh, Archibald Constable, 1823), Vol. 12, p. 687.

¹⁰ The *Encyclopaedia* was largely the work of Edinburgh savants; Dr. Andrew Duncan, Jr., editor of the last series of the Edinburgh Dispensatory, was a contributor (3rd ed., Vol. 1, p. xv); the 3rd edition included an abridgment of the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory* (see below).

¹¹ The fragment is to all intents identical with the parallel portions of the third edition of the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory* (Edinburgh, William Creech, 1791) except for the printer's signatures. It may be from the third edition published in Edinburgh in 1792, or, less likely, from the "New edition" published in Edinburgh in 1799. Both of these editions, however, are questionable. The only reference to them is in A. C. P. Callisen, *Medicinisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon* (Copenhagen, Callisen, 1838-45), Vol. 22, p. 420. None of the printed library catalogues this writer has investigated, foreign and domestic, and none of the 225 libraries in the United States and Canada that checked his list, reported holding either volume.

¹² London, J. Nourse, 1753.

¹³ E.g., *Neues Verbessertes Dispensatorium oder Arzneibuch* (Hamburg, J. C. Brandt, 1768, 1772), 2 vols.

¹⁴ E.g., *Neuveau Dispensaire d'Edimbourg* (Paris, Thomine, 1826), 2 vols.

¹⁵ E.g., *Nieuwe Britsche Apotheek* (Amsterdam, L. VanEs, c. 1797).

¹⁶ *Farmacopee di Edimburgo, Dublino, e Londra* (Venice, G. Antonelli, 1844-47), 3 vols.

¹⁷ *Conhecimento pratico dos medicamentos* (Lisbon, Imp' regia, 1815), 3 vols.

¹⁸ A complete list of all printings is appended. Library holdings are available upon request.

The various issues of the Edinburgh Dispensatory fall into three main series. First was the *New Dispensatory* edited by William Lewis (1714-1781)¹⁹ and published in six editions from 1753 to 1799. Virtually all of this dispensatory was reprinted, without acknowledgment, in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: Parts I (Elements of Pharmacy), III (Pharmaceutical Preparations), and IV (Medicinal Compositions) of the *Dispensatory* becoming the article on "Pharmacy"²⁰ and Part II (Materia Medica) becoming the article on "Materia Medica."²¹

Second was a series called the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory* which began with an edition published in Edinburgh in 1786 and edited by Charles Webster (1750-1795)²² and Ralph Irving.²³ (This edition was also issued as the *New Dispensatory*.) The second and third editions of this series were edited by Andrew Duncan, Sr. (1744-1828).²⁴ The fourth, fifth, and sixth editions were edited by John Rotheram (1751-1804).²⁵ This series ostensibly came to an end with the sixth edition of 1801, but actually ended with an 1818 re-issue of that edition. In 1797, the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* used, with due acknowledgment of the source, the third edition of this series for its article on "Pharmacy," omitting the plates, but otherwise rather faithfully reproducing it (omitting the *Materia Medica*) and devoting 175 double column pages to it.²⁶

The third series also bore the title *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*. All of this series was edited by Andrew Duncan, Jr. (1772-1832),²⁷ whose first

¹⁹ *D.N.B.*, Vol. 11, p. 1078.

²⁰ Vol. 8 (Edinburgh, J. Balfour, 1781), pp. 6007-6134. These portions were reprinted virtually unchanged except for the reorganization necessitated by the removal of the portion on *Materia Medica*, and the omission of "Tables of Attractions."

²¹ Vol. 6 (Edinburgh, J. Balfour, 1780), pp. 4474-4503. This portion was reprinted in a tabular form, rather than the expository form of the original.

²² Callisen, vol. 22, p. 420.

²³ Biographical data on Irving are not readily found. Callisen (vol. 10, p. 19) states, "Irving oder Irvine (Ralph oder Rudolph), zu Edinburgh? Med. Dr. Edinb. 1785; geb. in Schottland." *Bibliotheca Britannica* (Edinburgh, Archibald Constable, 1824, vol. 2, p. 535) also questions the last name, listing "Ralph Irving or Irvine."

²⁴ *D.N.B.*, vol. 6, p. 162.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 300.

²⁶ (Edinburgh, Bell and Macfarquhar, 1797), vol. 14, pp. 271-446. A footnote credits the source. The article on "Materia Medica," however, follows the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia* rather closely, and this derives from the *New Dispensatory*.

²⁷ *D.N.B.*, vol. 6, p. 163.

edition in 1803 discontinued the count of his predecessors, and whose twelfth and last (in Britain) appeared in 1830.

There was also one *Edinburgh New Dispensatory* that belonged in none of these series. It was edited by John Thomson²⁸ and published by William Creech in Edinburgh in 1813.

There were foreign translations in each of these three series, ending in 1847,²⁹ and American printings of the last two. The earliest American printing (1791) was a copy of Duncan, Sr.'s second edition.³⁰ In 1796 there appeared two distinct printings of Rotheram's fourth edition. One, published at Philadelphia (by Thomas Dobson), retained the caption "fourth edition";³¹ the other, published at Walpole, N. H. (by D. Carlisle, Jr.), called itself "The Third American from the Fourth Edinburgh Edition."³² In 1798 the *Encyclopaedia or a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Miscellaneous Literature* (Philadelphia, Thomas Dobson) which, since it itself was a reprint of the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, also included the reprinting of Duncan, Sr.'s third edition³³ (see above). In 1805 the "First Worcester Edition" reprinted Duncan, Jr.'s first edition, and in 1818 Dr. Jacob Dyckman (1788-1822)³⁴ published his "American Edition."³⁵

This brief account of the various printings gives a slight indication of the uncertainties of the publishing business and of the rights of authorship in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Closer examination of the history of the Edinburgh Dispensatories offers a good deal by way of illustration of these vagaries and uncertainties.

²⁸ Perhaps not the famed surgeon John Thomson (1765-1846).

²⁹ The last of the Edinburgh Dispensatories apparently was an Italian edition called *Farmacopee di Edimburgo, Dublino e Londra* (Venice, G. Antonelli, 1844-47), 3 vols.

³⁰ *The Edinburgh New Dispensatory*. A new edition (Philadelphia, T. Dobson, 1791). Evans no. 23503 (Evans erroneously attributes this edition to Andrew Duncan, Jr., instead of Andrew Duncan, Sr.).

³¹ Evans, no. 30693.

³² Evans no. 30692. Since no second American edition is known, this is the "third" American, only if it were preceded chronologically by no. 30693.

³³ Vol. 14, pp. 271-446.

³⁴ *Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon General's Office* (Washington, Govt. Print. Off., 1880-95), Ser. 1, vol. 3, p. 977.

³⁵ *The Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, First Worcester ed. (Worcester, Mass., Isaiah Thomas, Jr., 1805); and *The Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, From the Eighth Edition (New York, James Eastburn, 1818). The title page of the latter carried the names of Andrew Duncan, Jr., and Jacob Dyckman; the half-title read, "The American Edition of the Edinburgh New Dispensatory Enlarged, and adapted to the Materia Medica of the United States."

One finds ample evidence, for example, that a new "edition" was something of an euphemism. To illustrate, William Lewis' second (London, 1765), third (Dublin, 1768, and London, 1770), fourth (Dublin, 1778, and London, 1781), "new" (Dublin, 1782), and fifth (London, 1785, and 1792) editions all contained just eight pages of prefatory material and 692 pages of text. Similarly, all the Rotheram editions (see above), including the American, contained just 622 pages of text. (This, however, was not true of the editions edited by the two Duncans.)

One notes also the duplication of "editions" by collaborating or competing publishers. The publication of two sets of the *New Dispensatory* at Dublin and London for the third, fourth, and new-fifth editions has just been cited. The appearance of two printings in the United States in one year, 1796, has also been noted.

In the same vein, the overlapping of the three series is noteworthy. Thus the last (6th) edition of the *New Dispensatory* was issued in 1799, thirteen years, five editions, and ten printings of some kind, after the first *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*. The re-issuance of Rotheram's sixth edition in 1818 came fifteen years after Andrew Duncan, Jr.'s first edition, and was sold to compete with the latter's eighth edition. It should be noted in this connection that Lewis had died before the "New" (Dublin, 1782), 5th (London, 1785, and 1792) and 6th (London, 1799) editions were issued; that Rotheram was also dead when the 1818 issue was released; and that Andrew Duncan, Jr., was dead prior to the publication of the Italian edition of 1844-47.

Publishers were obviously anxious to make the most of their opportunities. It has already been mentioned that the first (1786) edition of the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory* was also issued as the *New Dispensatory*. (The Library of the New York Academy of Medicine has a copy containing both title pages.) The publisher of this edition, Charles Elliott of Edinburgh, had not previously published the *New Dispensatory*. Perhaps the neatest trick was that involved in the re-issuance of Rotheram's 6th edition in 1818. The only discernible difference between this and the 6th edition issued in 1801, was that the date "1818" was printed on a slip of paper pasted on the title page where "1801" had previously appeared.³⁶ The Library of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland has a volume that bears only a half-title, "Edinburgh New Dispensatory,"

³⁶ The writer wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. R. L. Stehle of the Medical Library and Dr. W. W. Francis of the Osler Library of McGill University in tracking this down. The Medical Library of McGill was the only library that reported holding the 1818 edition.

pasted in. The preface to this volume is apparently from Webster and Irving's 1786 edition of the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*; the remainder from the second (1765) edition of Lewis' *New Dispensatory*.³⁷

Manipulation seemed to give way in the 1800's to plagiarism.³⁸ Andrew Duncan, Jr., complained rather indignantly that his work had been "laid under heavy contributions, or rather been reprinted,"³⁹ with various degrees of acknowledgment, and apparently without permission or payment. Thus the Edinburgh Dispensatories became an important part of such works as the *Complete English Dispensatory*;⁴⁰ B. Parr, *The London Medical Directory* (London, J. Johnson, 1809);⁴¹ R. J. Thornton, *A New Family Herbal* (London, R. Phillips, 1810);⁴² J. R. Coxe, *American Dispensatory* (Philadelphia, T. Dobson, 1806);⁴³ J. Thacher, *American New Dispensatory* (Boston, T. B. Wait, 1810);⁴⁴ and, apparently, a *Farmaco-*

³⁷ This may be purely a fortuitous binding, but it might well be some such dubious issue as that called by Callisen (vol. 22, p. 420) a "New edition" published in Edinburgh in 1799. See fn. 11 above.

³⁸ The writer suspects that some of the foreign translations were not far different (in their relation to the Edinburgh Dispensatories) from the British, American, and Italian works mentioned in this paragraph. However, there is a bibliographic authority for classifying each of the translations as one of the Edinburgh Dispensatories.

³⁹ In his preface to the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, 11th ed. (Edinburgh, Bell and Bradfute, 1826), pp. vii-ix.

⁴⁰ R. Colborne, *A Complete English Dispensatory* (London, G. Hitch & L. Hawes, 1756); and J. Quincy, *Pharmacopoeia Officinalis & Extemporanea, or a Complete English Dispensatory*, 15th ed. (London, T. Longman, 1782). The preface to the latter stated (p. x): "As it was proper to take all the prescriptive part of the *London* and *Edinburgh* Dispensatories into this book, it is thought expedient to add likewise the rest of their contents."

⁴¹ Parr acknowledged using, among others, Duncan's "most valuable work." Duncan was perhaps provoked with Parr's opinion, however, that with regard to pharmacy Duncan was "more concise than we could wish" since "its subjects are so numerous. . . . The lacunae have been filled from [other] works." (vol. 1, p. 19)

⁴² Thornton dedicated his book to Duncan in the most flattering terms, stating, for example, that "the merit which may be found in this Herbal must in justice be ascribed to your [Duncan's] industry and intelligence." (1810 ed., p. vii)

⁴³ Coxe's first edition was "committed to the public with little deviation from the Edinburgh copy" and included a "Preface to Dr. Duncan's Edition of the Edinburgh Dispensatory." (pp. vi, ix-xvi) When Duncan referred to this edition as a reprint, Coxe responded that "I . . . regard it as a new work, inasmuch as the arrangement differs totally from every other work of the kind hitherto published." (2nd ed., p. vii) Later, an American critic expressed agreement with Duncan rather than Coxe. (*Journal of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy*, 1832, vol. 4, p. 35.)

⁴⁴ Thacher acknowledged his debt to Duncan, but also deleted some 150 pages of Duncan on Chemistry in favor of Murray's "more concise and perhaps no less judicious material." (1810 ed., pp. 7, 8)

pea purportedly by Andrew Duncan and A. G. L. Jourdan (Milan, 1850).⁴⁵

(Thus not only because of the various American printings of the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*—the 1791 Philadelphia edition being the first such work published in America—but also because of Coxe and Thacher, the *Edinburgh Dispensatory* is of especial interest as the progenitor of American dispensaries.)

In conclusion, it should be noted that this long series of dispensaries has much more than bibliographic interest. We would probably agree with Andrew Duncan, Sr., that Lewis' claim on the title page of his second edition that he was "presenting a regular system of pharmacy" was somewhat presumptuous.⁴⁶ We might also recognize certain limitations in calling Lewis' first edition "the first truly scientific work on pharmacy in the English language,"⁴⁷ as did an American critic in 1831. But between Lewis's beginnings and Andrew Duncan, Jr.'s last edition (1830)—which the same critic called "the most accurate and learned Dispensatory in the language"⁴⁸—there is a good deal to be learned of the history of science in general, and of pharmacy, medicine, and chemistry in particular. In these dispensaries are to be found the relics of ancient ignorance and superstitions in medicine⁴⁹—the earthworms, the snails, the ants, the musk, the dung, to mention a few. In these dispensaries, too, are to be found the evidences of progress: by 1786 dung was "expunged from practice"; the belly of the skink was reported as seeming to "uselessly increase the articles of the Mithradate"; frog's spawn was "discarded."⁵⁰ The earthworms and snails to be boiled in milk as a restorative in consumptions, and the dried and pulverized toads "applied externally to the navel, to restrain

⁴⁵ As listed in A. Pagliani, *Catalogo Generale della Libreria Italiana* (Milan, Associazione Tipografico-Libreria Italiana, 1901), vol. A-D, p. 387. This combination of authors, both of whom were dead at the time of this publication, suggests that this was some sort of pirated combination of the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory* and Jourdan's *Pharmacopée Universelle* (Paris, J. B. Baillière, 1840), 2 vols.

⁴⁶ *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, Charles Elliott, 1789), p. ix.

⁴⁷ *Journal of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy*, 1832, vol. 3, p. 250.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁴⁹ Many go back at least to the *materia medica* of the Greek physician Dioscorides (1st century, A.D.). Cf. G. Urdang, "*Pharmacopoeia Londinensis of 1618, Reproduced in Facsimile, With a Historical Introduction*" (Madison, State Hist. Soc. of Wisconsin, 1944), p. 37 *et seq.*

⁵⁰ *Edinburgh New Dispensatory* (Edinburgh, Charles Elliott, 1786), pp. 214, 231, 241.

haemorrhages . . . from the uterus,"⁵¹ in 1786, are missing from the 1794 edition if not earlier. By 1794 notations are not hard to find to the effect that "any considerable medical power is not to be expected from it," and "they do not possess any remarkable medical properties."⁵² Perhaps the surest mark of progress, however, was the legend on the title page of the third (1791) and succeeding editions of the second series of the Dispensatory: "With . . . a full and clear account of the NEW CHEMICAL DOCTRINES published by Mr. Lavoisier." The British apparently were finally converted by the publication of *La Traité Élémentaire de la Chemie* (Paris, Cuchet, 1789) two years earlier.

Progress, however, came with difficulty. Rotheram's last edition (1801-1818) remarked that ants were "at present not employed by us in medicine," but still had a place for millepedes and cantharides.⁵³ The *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, to cite another example, accredited tobacco with far more sensational qualities⁵⁴ than did the *New Dispensatory*. Indeed, one seeking illustrations of the romanticized career of tobacco as a medicinal agent, could not overlook the credulous treatment accorded it in Duncan, Jr.'s last (1830) edition⁵⁵—"the most accurate and learned Dispensatory in the language."

A CHECK-LIST OF THE EDINBURGH DISPENSATORIES

This list has been compiled from a variety of sources: 1. Bibliographic works, particularly A. C. P. Callisen, *Medicinisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon* (Copenhagen, Callisen, 1838-45); 2. The pertinent printed library catalogues, foreign and domestic; 3. Miscellaneous historical and reference material; and 4. The direct contributions of a host of librarians in the United States, Canada and Great Britain.

Of the 225 or so libraries circularized, the two holding the largest collections of the various issues are the Boston Medical Library and the Lloyd Library and Museum of Cincinnati. Both have at least 20 issues. Other large holdings (at least 14)

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 173.

⁵² *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, 3rd Amer. ed. (Walpole, N. H., D. Carlisle, Jr., 1796), pp. 433, 434.

⁵³ *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, 6th ed. (Edinburgh, William Creech, 1801), pp. 120, 161, 198. For that matter although cantharides are "now seldom used," they are still discussed in the literature of *Materia Medica*. Perhaps their most common current use is "in hair preparations to prevent alopecia." F. R. Davison, *Handbook of Materia Medica, Toxicology and Pharmacology* (St. Louis, C. V. Mosby, 1949), pp. 138-139.

⁵⁴ *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, 6th ed. (Edinburgh, William Creech, 1801), pp. 203, 204.

⁵⁵ *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, 12th ed. (Edinburgh, Bell and Bradfute, 1830), p. 529.

are in the New York Academy of Medicine, The College of Physicians of Philadelphia, The Massachusetts College of Pharmacy, The Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science, and the U. S. Surgeon General's Office. Judging from their printed catalogues and from correspondence, the British Museum holds 15 issues, the University of Edinburgh Library 16, and the National Library of Scotland 12.

* Only the starred items of the following list have not been found in the libraries circularized or in printed library catalogues. Of course the erroneous and doubtful listings have also not been found in library holdings.

Items marked A are American issues.

I. *The New Dispensatory*

1. *The New Dispensatory* . . . [by William Lewis] . . . London, J. Nourse, 1753.
2. ——— *The second edition* [by William Lewis] . . . London, J. Nourse, 1765.
3. ——— . . . *By William Lewis* . . . *The third edition* . . . Dublin, James Potts, 1768.
4. ——— . . . *The third edition* . . . [by William Lewis] . . . London, J. Nourse, 1770.
5. ——— . . . *By William Lewis* . . . *The fourth edition* . . . Dublin, James Potts, 1778.
6. The articles on "Materia Medica" and "Pharmacy" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2d ed., vol. 6 (Edinburgh, J. Balfour, 1780), pp. 4474-4503, and vol. 8 (Edinburgh, J. Balfour, 1781), pp. 6007-6134, were unacknowledged reprints of the *New Dispensatory*.
7. *The New Dispensatory* . . . *By William Lewis* . . . *The fourth edition* . . . London, C. Nourse, 1781.
8. ——— . . . *By William Lewis* . . . *A new edition* . . . Dublin, William Colles, 1782.
9. ——— . . . *By William Lewis* . . . *The fifth edition* . . . London, C. Nourse, 1785.
10. ——— . . . *By gentlemen of the faculty at Edinburgh* [Charles Webster and Ralph Irving] . . . Edinburgh, Charles Elliott, 1786.
11. ——— . . . *By William Lewis* . . . *The fifth edition* . . . London, S. Robertson, 1792.
12. ——— . . . *By W. Lewis* . . . *The sixth edition* . . . London, F. Wingrave, 1799.

II. *The Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, by Various Editors

13. *The Edinburgh New Dispensatory* . . . *By Gentlemen of the Faculty at Edinburgh* [Charles Webster and Ralph Irving] . . . Edinburgh, Charles Elliott, 1786.
14. ——— . . . [by Andrew Duncan, Sr.] . . . *The second edition* . . . Edinburgh, Charles Elliott, 1789.
15. ——— . . . [by Andrew Duncan, Sr.] . . . *The second edition* . . . Edinburgh, William Creech, 1790.
16. ——— . . . [by Andrew Duncan, Sr.] . . . *The third edition* . . . Edinburgh, William Creech, 1791.
- A17. ——— . . . [by Andrew Duncan, Sr.] . . . *A new edition* . . . Philadelphia, T. Dobson, 1791.

- *18. — . . . [by Andrew Duncan, Sr.] . . . *The third edition* . . . Edinburgh, William Creech (?), 1792.
- 19. — . . . [by John Rotheram] . . . *The fourth edition* . . . Edinburgh, William Creech, 1794.
- A20. — . . . [by John Rotheram] . . . *The fourth edition* . . . Philadelphia, Thomas Dobson, 1796.
- A21. — . . . [by John Rotheram] . . . *The third American from the fourth Edinburgh edition* . . . Walpole, N. H., D. Carlisle, Jr., 1796.
- 22. — . . . [by John Rotheram] . . . *The fifth edition* . . . Edinburgh, William Creech, 1797.
- 23. The article on "Pharmacy" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 3rd ed., vol. 14 (Edinburgh, Bell & Macfarquhar, 1797), pp. 271-446, was an acknowledged reprint of the third edition of the *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, omitting the *Materia Medica*. The article on "*Materia Medica*" in the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was derived from the *New Dispensatory* as in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia*. Cf. item 6 above.
- A24. The same as item 23 above, but in *Encyclopaedia, or a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Miscellaneous Literature* (Philadelphia, Thomas Dobson, 1798), vol. 14, pp. 271-446.
- *25. *The Edinburgh New Dispensatory* . . . *A new edition* . . . Edinburgh, 1799.
- 26. — . . . [by John Rotheram] . . . *The sixth edition* . . . Edinburgh, William Creech, 1801.
- 27. — . . . [by John Rotheram] . . . *The sixth edition* . . . Edinburgh, William Creech, 1818.

III. *The Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, by Andrew Duncan, Jr.

Except where otherwise noted, each of the items in this group was edited by Andrew Duncan, Jr., published at Edinburgh, and published by Bell & Bradfute.

- 28. *The Edinburgh New Dispensatory* . . . 1803.
- 29. — *Second edition* . . . 1804.
- A30. — *First Worcester edition* . . . Worcester, Mass., Isaiah Thomas, Jr., 1805.
- 31. — *Third edition* . . . 1806.
- 32. — *Fourth edition* . . . 1808.
- 33. — *Fifth edition* . . . 1810.
- 34. — *Sixth edition* . . . 1811.
- 35. — *Seventh edition* . . . 1813.
- 36. — *Eighth edition* . . . 1816.
- A37. — *From the eighth . . . Edinburgh edition. With large additions* . . . By Jacob Dyckman . . . New York, James Eastburn, 1818.
- 38. — *Ninth edition* . . . 1819.
- 39. — *Tenth edition* . . . 1822.
- 40. — *Eleventh edition* . . . 1826.
- 41. *Supplement to the Edinburgh New Dispensatory by Andrew Duncan* . . . 1829.
- 42. *The Edinburgh New Dispensatory* . . . *Twelfth edition* . . . 1830.

IV. Unrelated Issue

43. *The Edinburgh New Dispensatory* . . . By John Thomson . . . Edinburgh, William Creech, 1813.

V. Foreign Language Renditions

44. *Neues verbessertes Dispensatorium oder Arzneibuch* . . . Hamburg, J. C. Brandt, vol. 1, 1768, vol. 2, 1772.
45. *De Nieuwe Britsche Apotheek* . . . Naar den Derden Druk van London, uit het Engelsch vertaald, door Theodorus van Brussel . . . Amsterdam, Gerrit Bom, vol. 1, 1772, vol. 2, 1773.
46. *Connaissance pratique des médicaments* . . . ou Nouveau dispensaire . . . par M. Lewis . . . traduit de l'anglais [by A. C. Lebègue de Presle] . . . Paris, Dosaint, 1775, 3 vols.
47. *Neues Englisches allgemeines Dispensatorium oder Apothekerbuch* . . . von W. Lewis . . . zweite . . . Ausgabe . . . Breslau, J. F. Korn, Sr., vol. 1, 1783, vol. 2, 1784 (?), vol. 3, 1786. [John Rutti was responsible for additions to the first volume; C. G. Kapp for additions to the third.]
- *48. *Neues Englisches allgemeines Dispensatorium oder Apothekerkunst* . . . von W. Lewis . . . Berlin, J. F. Korn, Sr., vol. 1, 1783, vol. 2, 1784, vol. 3, 1786. [This may be an error for item 47.]
- *48a. *Neues verbessertes Dispensatorium oder Arzneibuch* [The preceding item was apparently issued under this title at the same time].
49. *Neues Edinburger Dispensatorium* . . . Nach der vierten Ausgabe [by John Rotheram] übersetzt und . . . begleitet von D. Samuel Hahnemann . . . Leipzig, G. Fleischer, Jr., 1797, 1798. 2 vols.
- *50. *De nieuwe Britsche Apotheek* . . . Amsterdam, L. van Es, c. 1797.
51. *Neuestes Apotheker-Buch* . . . [By Andrew Duncan, Jr.; German editors: C. G. Essenbach and C. G. Kühn] . . . Leipzig, Sommer, 1808-1810. 3 vols. [These volumes were apparently sold separately under the following three titles.]
- *51a. *Die Anfangsgründe der pharmaceutischen Chemie* . . . Leipzig, 1808.
- *51b. *Die Arzneimittel-Lehre* . . . Leipzig, 1810.
- *51c. *Die Pharmaceutische Zubereitungen und Zusammensetzungen* . . . Leipzig, 1810.
52. *Conhecimento pratico dos medicamentos* . . . Traduzida, correcta e augmentada . . . por Caetano José de Carvalho . . . Lisbon, Imp' regia, 1815. 3 vols.
- *53. *Neuestes Apotheker-Buch* . . . Leipzig, 1818. 3 vols.
54. *Nouveau dispensaire d'Edimbourg* . . . par Andre Duncan . . . Trad. par E. Pelouze sur la 10. éd. anglaise, augmentée . . . par Robiquet et Chereau . . . Paris, Thomine, 1826. 2 vols.
55. *Farmacopee di Edimburgo, Dublino e Londra* . . . Sulla inglese 10 ed. tradotta in francese dal Sig. E. Pelouze . . . Voltata in italiano . . . da Giovanni Vanzani . . . Venice, G. Antonelli, 1844-47. 3 vols.

VI. *Erroneous References*

Historical and bibliographic literature make references to the following items that have proved to be non-existent.

56. *New Dispensatory*, 1748.
57. *New Dispensatory*, 1754.
58. *New Dispensatory*, 1760.
59. *New Dispensatory* by "A Gentleman of the Faculty at Edinburgh," 1786 [An error for item 10].
60. *Edinburgh New Dispensatory* by "A Gentleman of the Faculty at Edinburgh," 1786 [An error for item 13].
61. *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, New ed., 1808 [An error for item 27].

VII. *Doubtful References*

62. *The New Dispensatory, containing: 1) The theory and practice of pharmacy . . . Intended as a correction and improvement of Quincy.* 4th ed., London, 1781. [Probably an error for item 7 whose title page begins: *The New Dispensatory, containing: 1) The elements of Pharmacy. . .*]
63. *New Dispensatory*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1789 [Probably an error for item 14].
64. *New Dispensatory*, 3rd ed., Edinburgh, 1791 [Probably an error for item 16].
65. A French translation of the *New Dispensatory*, 1803.
66. *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, 1809.
67. *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, by Andrew Duncan, Jr., 8th ed., 1815.
68. *Edinburgh New Dispensatory*, by Andrew Duncan, Jr., New ed., improved, London, 1818 [Probably an error for item 27].

DAVID L. COWEN

Book Reviews

WILSON, CARROLL A. *Thirteen Author Collections of the Nineteenth Century and Five Centuries of Familiar Quotations*. Edited by Jean C. S. Wilson and David A. Randall. New York, Privately Printed for Charles Scribner's Sons [by The Anthoensen Press, Portland, Maine], 1950. Frontispiece (facsimile of bookplate). 2 Volumes. 9½ x 6¼ inches. \$50.00.

The preparation of published catalogues of private libraries has occupied a considerable number of talented people. The results have been not only a useful memorial to the acumen and prosperity of the actual owners of the collections but have helped to establish enviable reputations for the enterprising cataloguers employed in their description. Carroll Wilson was his own cataloguer. None of the customary benefits have been lost; they have simply been concentrated. *Thirteen Author Collections of the Nineteenth Century* . . . represents as remarkable an accumulation of Mr. Wilson's talents as it does of his books.

Almost no one who has followed the activities of the Grolier Club or the Bibliographical Society of America, or worked as a scholar in the literature of the nineteenth century is unaware of the collections of individual authors which Carroll Wilson amazingly brought together. His Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier and Holmes collections were unsurpassed in private hands, perhaps also in public pockets; his Hardy and Trollope groups were among the finest. But this could be said of almost every individual collection in his library, whether of Alcott, Emerson, Hawthorne, Irving, Melville, Poe, or Thoreau. Of the totality the description can be as strong as one chooses to make it. The term "distinguished" would be inadequate. Mr. Wilson's flair was for definitiveness. If he ever passed through the stage of miscellaneous collecting which is characteristic of the novitiate of most bibliophiles, he has managed to conceal it in the group which he calls "Five Centuries of Familiar Quotations," whose catalogue is appended to the others. This seems to have been his catch-all, or at least his excuse for owning items which did not fit easily into the clear lines of the rest of his library. But even this is a true collection in every sense of the word, and he was concerned with its comprehensiveness.

There is a well-established *genre* for the catalogues of private libraries, in which these two volumes fit. The type includes not only the elegant but the commercial, the morocco-bound folio and the auction-room catalogue. But whatever the occasion of the appearance, something of the personality of the owner clings to the complex of his books, above and beyond and within the limits of description of the titles displayed. One uses these catalogues for their information, but one retains them also for the memory of the achievements and personal qualities of the Wakemans, Chamberlains and Hogans of the book-collecting world. They are as pleasant for one's idle hours as the book catalogues piled in a collector's study, and serve a little of the same function. They are a guide and a challenge and sometimes a satisfaction. "Not in—" becomes a phrase written in golden syllables. Carroll Wilson had every reason for keeping in this company.

A good deal of the psychology of book-collecting is honestly presented in *Thirteen Author Collections* . . . , in addition to the more professional data it contains. The pleasures of miscellaneous collecting have in general given way to the pleasures of assembling significant groups. Scholarship has become so necessary to book-collecting that private owners of libraries seem to parade in academic gowns. But though new amenities have been added, the core remains the same. Book-collecting is fun. Not the least of Carroll Wilson's achievements as owner and cataloguer is his frank recognition of this. "The purchase of this book," he wrote in his copy of *The Warden*, "began my serious book-collecting. I bought it as a birthday present for myself in May, 1925, and thereby opened the door to some of the pleasantest hours of my life." The pleasure of those many hours he saw no reason to conceal. Each book as it was acquired became a major or a minor triumph. Each book had its own personality which was not to be rendered in terms of chilled bibliographical description. Books, like friends, were not to be calculated by anatomy. Books, like men, became enriched by their associations.

It was my tutor at Oxford who taught me not to erase a previous owner's name from a book—obedient as I had been to the bookseller's derogatory "Fine, save for a pencilled name on the flyleaf"—but rather to precede it with a "Once to" and follow with a "But now to" before my own pencilling. This was more than the retention of a modest provenance; it was respect for the personality of a book. Mr. Wilson seems to have known this lesson by instinct. But though he chose his friendly books with discrimination, he did not stop with so parsimonious a device as my own. Nothing pleased him more than to arrange a marriage between a book

and a congenial document. It is obvious that he approved of matrimony, since only the most commonplace of his possessions lived on in a state of celibacy. The matches were always congenial, and sometimes spectacular. Where else will one find the first printing of "The Children's Hour" in the very copy owned by "Edith with golden hair," inserted in it a letter from Longfellow happily announcing Edith's birth? Who else could have laid in his "Barbara Frietchie" even a signature of that gray-haired lady? No wonder, then, that Mr. Wilson could describe some marriages as having lamentably been made too early in the book's life: "An undistinguished a.l.s. . . . is inserted—by Spoor, not by me."

If this is a practice which is anathema to a librarian or curator of manuscripts, it does nevertheless make for delightful reading in a catalogue. In the vast majority of Mr. Wilson's descriptions of his books there is something unexpected and refreshing. The two volumes can be read as though they consisted of a series of brief familiar essays written in notation. The kind of pleasure that one used to find in A. Edward Newton's exploits and exploitations is renewed. The delightful hours spent by every collector in reading auction catalogues may now be carried on with these volumes which have so much in common with them. And why should they not, in all honesty, if the habits as well as the fruits of book-collecting are to be scrupulously set down in the autobiography of a library?

Lurking behind most volumes in any collection are those catalogue phrases whose stimulus once led to the liberation of the books from the shelves of the dealer. The glosses are all to be found in *Thirteen Author Collections*. . . . "Very good copy (as often)," "moderately common," "scarce," "very scarce in any form," "excessively rare in original state," and that ultimate rubric: "the only copy known." But though their appearance indicates the extremely cordial and eminently sensible relationship between successful book-collectors and dealers, it may be that not even in the enticements of the latter is there to be found so massive a piling up of adjectival phrases as in Mr. Wilson's, to me immortal, description of a volume as "the fine untouched (and very scarce thus) and perfect Hogan copy of the classical first issue." No book-collector was ever modest. Why should he pretend to be?

No one of the individual catalogues of the author collections is offered as a bibliography in any full sense of the word, but the significant "points" are there, often for the first time. Yet in many cases they are better than any bibliographies which exist, if they exist at all, for the authors concerned. Certainly for most of these authors there is nowhere to

be found so complete an account of the circumstances as well as the appearance of their books. The profits of those long hours of serious research on Carroll Wilson's part, which led him to so many significant discoveries, have not been wastefully lost. The information of almost every kind contained in the printed excerpts from the inserted manuscripts may be miscellaneous in nature but it is seldom trivial. At any rate it is nowhere else to be found. The section of Holmes, for example, with its thoroughness of titles and its remarkable collection of letters and documents, comes close to being a new book on "The Autocrat."

The uses of the book are many and for many. It would be difficult to imagine the well-equipped collector or dealer in any of Carroll Wilson's fields who would not wish that he might have the volumes as part of his tools. It is equally difficult to imagine a self-respecting scholar of any of the authors who are represented who will not find it a duty to consult the books for the material first printed here. For all users it is, perhaps, regrettable that no index could have been included. As it now stands, only repeated diligence will discover that *The Waif* is more fully described in reference to the copy among "Familiar Quotations" than to that in the Longfellow catalogue itself; that there are Lowell items in the same group which do not appear in the personal list devoted to him; and that a book from Holmes' library is to be found among the Whittiers rather than in the group-within-a-group which already existed for books of this kind. Nor among the criss-cross of inserted letters can the scholar be sure that in re-searching the whole he may not have skipped what is truly his nugget. Perhaps we shall simply have to come to know the book by heart. But there could be unhappier tasks than this, since the personality of Carroll Wilson will be found at every entry.

NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

ALTICK, RICHARD D. *The Scholar Adventurers*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1950. viii, 338 pp. 8½ x 5 inches. \$5.00.

Richard D. Altick's *The Scholar Adventurers* is a book which somebody should have written long ago, a fact that makes it none the less fortunate that Mr. Altick has written it at last. It is astonishing that the "human side" of the sciences has been exploited in numberless popular volumes, whereas only the scientific side of the humanities has hitherto been set forth in print.

Partly, this is due to the lamentable fact that so many students of literary history, linguistics, textual criticism, and kindred branches have fallen into an evil and ridiculous habit of publicly bewailing the trivial nature of their

occupation. Even Mr. Altick (whose whole book shows that he knows much better) allows himself one of these purely conventional sneers at his own trade. Of Modern Language Association papers he says, "It is generally agreed that nine-tenths of the papers read at these group meetings should have remained unread, if not actually unwritten." Personally, after listening to some hundreds of MLA papers, I am prepared to swear that I learned from all of them but one. And that solitary exception was not delivered by a research scholar anyhow, but by an Inconceivably Eminent Literatus.

Indeed, I have known a New York tabloid daily use a Modern Language Association paper as the news peg whereon to hang an editorial—which may be no tribute to the author's scholarship but which certainly shows that his observations were not without interest to the common (the very common) mass of humanity.

Fortunately, Mr. Altick's brilliant, highly readable, and (as Longinus says) "full-blooded" book elsewhere tells a very different story. After an introductory chapter on "The Unsung Scholar" (which ought to be read by every student of literature in the country), he tells the stories behind a series of brilliant discoveries in literary history—the Boswell papers, the unveiling of a part of the Marlowe death mystery, the discovery of Sir Thomas Malory's identity, the revelation of Wordsworth's youthful indiscretion with Annette Vallon. These are followed by chapters on the bibliographical sins of Thomas J. Wise (which have been copiously dealt with elsewhere, but never more entertainingly), the perils to the researcher of literary forgery, and the chase by scholars (rather than collectors) for literary rarities.

His chief intention, says Mr. Altick, is "to show how modern literary scholarship has its elements of romance," though he has also tried to demonstrate how "adventurous scholars have notably increased our store of literary materials." Both these laudable purposes he has fully achieved, the result being a volume of great interest to every professional scholar and to most other literate individuals.

JOHN BAKELESS

BRING, SAMUEL E. *Handledning i svensk bibliografi*. Stockholm, Hugo Gebers Förlag, [1948]. 103 pp. 5 x 7½ inches. Sw. kr. 6.00. (Grafiska Institutets skriftserie, under redaktion av S. E. Bring och B. Sachrisson, No. 4.)

The fourth volume in the useful *Skriftserie* of the Grafiska Institutet is a guide to the principal bibliographies dealing with men and things Swed-

ish. Mr. Bring has listed around 350 bibliographies from all sources (journals, proceedings, separates, etc.) and listed them under some 160 classifications (arranged alphabetically). There is an author and title index, and an alphabetical subject index which has twice as many headings as those used in the bibliography proper. A brief introductory essay describes the compiler's procedure and rules for inclusion and points out other sources for Swedish bibliography. The present work is selective, but a bibliography of bibliographies must necessarily be limited in coverage. Perhaps the inadequacies of Besterman and Bohatta and Funke may best be remedied by the compilation of a series of selective national bibliographies of bibliographies.

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON